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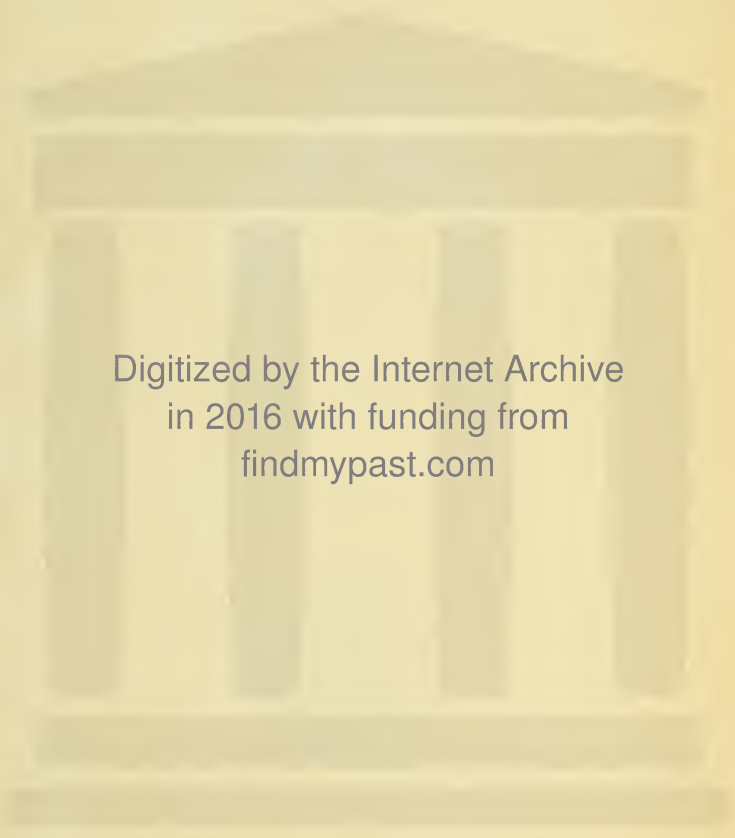
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IN DEFENSE OF MRS. LINCOLN

By

C. C. RITZE

In his Springfield speech on June 26, 1857, Abraham Lincoln said of the negro: "All the powers of earth seem rapidly combining against him. Mammon is after him, ambition follows, philosophy follows, and the theology of the day is fast joining the cry. They have him in the prison house; they have searched his person, and left no prying instrument with him. One after another they have closed the heavy iron doors upon him; and now they have him, as it were, bolted in with a lock of a hundred keys, which can never be unlocked without the concurrence of every key—the keys in the hands of a hundred different men, and they scattered to a hundred different and distant places; and they stand musing as to what invention, in all the dominions of mind and matter, can be produced to make the impossibility of his escape more complete than it is."

How little then did Lincoln realize he was describing the status of his own wife ten years hence! For within that time all the powers of earth seemed to have rapidly combined against her. In '61 her Willie died. In '65 her husband was assassinated. Death was after her, mammon was after her, the press was after her, revenge was after her. They had her in the prison-house. They searched her person, and, one after another, they closed the heavy iron doors upon her. But let us carry the parallel no further. Suffice it to say, she still is in prison.

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The latest invention discovered to keep here there is psychology. So now we have writers plumbing her mind with all sorts of findings. Naturally they can be accurate only to the extent that their own minds are free from prejudices—accurate only as to what proportion of the facts out of the total they consider, and the emphasis they place upon certain facts over others; accurate only as to what evidence they accept as true, and what they reject as false; accurate only as to what in their opinions constitutes justice; accurate only as to their own abilities to interpret life with a balanced understanding and their capacities to comprehend the truth, and a hundred more kindred considerations. These are factors which, in the formation of judgment, make us all stumble. It is therefore not surprising that the psychologists cannot agree amongst themselves. For instance, we have psychologist Herndon (for he applied its principles) finding as a fact that Mary Todd married Lincoln for revenge, which finding is repudiated and denounced as a myth by psychologist Evans.

And again, we have Beveridge disclosing that the Lincoln yard was never graced by flowers, and Masters assigns as a reason that Lincoln was devoid of an appreciation for the beautiful,¹ while Doctor Evans reasons it out that the Lincolns could not find time to take care of flowers.² I do not hesitate to venture my own guess. I do not accept the full implications and conclusions of either. One seeks to condemn, the other to excuse. Between the extremes is usually found the truth. I do not believe that the Lincolns were wholly devoid of a love for the beautiful and therefore did not like flowers, as Masters implies, but I do believe that they did not like flowers enough to bother raising them, or else they would have had them. To plead lack of time, as

¹Edgar Lee Masters, *Lincoln the Man* (New York, 1931), 143.

²W. A. Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1932), 143.

does Doctor Evans, appears to me as a poor excuse, not founded on fact, since there were years in Springfield when the Lincolns could have grown a few flowers as well as their neighbors, had they so desired.

I refer to this flower incident, not because of any great significance in itself, but to show how minds trained in logic and psycho-analysis cannot agree on even so simple a matter as this. Which all goes to prove that expert opinion should be weighed and considered the same as the opinions of others. For in no field of human endeavor do the experts agree—be it in political science, economics, theology, law, medicine, or whatever. And nowhere are they in greater conflict than when they begin delving into the human mind, as witness any prominent murder trial where insanity is pleaded as a defense.

I am loathe to challenge the opinions of such an able and talented man as Doctor Evans. I would not do so if I could avoid it. But his conclusions on some vital points are so in conflict with my own that I have no choice. He is such an eminent authority on Mrs. Lincoln, and his work is of such recent date (1932), that in justice to my argument I cannot ignore his position. Most of his work I accept as splendidly done, but on some vital conclusions involving justice to Mrs. Lincoln, I cannot go along with him. But my disagreements with him will be in the most friendly spirit.

Whenever serious charges are brought against a person, the burden of proof rightly rests upon the accuser. And certainly Mrs. Lincoln is entitled to the protection of her honor and good name as well as an accused murderer who stands in a criminal docket. Around him the law throws its protection, gives him the benefit of the doubt, and presumes his innocence. The charges against him must be proved by direct, not merely hearsay evidence, convincing beyond a

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reasonable doubt, or he is acquitted. That is the American way of rendering legal justice. But a person's good name is still more precious than his liberty. At least it is to an honorable man. Surely then, if Mrs. Lincoln is to be forever condemned, it should be by at least a fair preponderance of the evidence. And that is less than we grant in criminal procedure to the enemies of society.

Now, when public opinion, whether rightfully or wrongfully, has crystallized against a person, it is very hard to change it. Particularly is this true after the passing of a long course of years during which the charges have been constantly renewed and augmented. Even falsehood, by repetition, takes on the halo of truth. As a people, we still like to believe that the young Washington chopped down the cherry tree and admitted his guilt because he was so noble in soul that he could not tell a lie. It fits in so well with the picture of our hero. The superstition about the black cat, the evil omen of walking under a ladder, the belief that battles cause rainstorms, the supposed vengeance of God in directing the thunderbolt—these and others believed in and practised by the Romans and Greeks in the time of Christ, and some running back as far as Pythagoras, are still with us. Great is the power of tradition. And Mrs. Lincoln, in more than one instance, has been made the victim of some damaging myth.

The responsibility for this rests upon William H. Herndon, Lincoln's erstwhile law partner and later biographer, more than any other man. For he was the creator of myths and the father of false traditions. It was he who painted Lincoln as the shrinking coward who, after the wedding cakes were baked, ran away on the nuptial night while the anguished bride, with roses in her hair, stood vainly waiting at the altar—at which myth Beveridge more than winks, and which Masters adopts with open arms.

Joseph Fort Newton, in his book *Lincoln and Herndon*, published in 1910, took Ida Tarbell to task for attempting to refute Herndon on this story in such a way as to impeach his veracity.³ In Herndon's defense Newton cites a statement purported to be given to Herndon by Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, sister of Mary Todd, which statement reads: "Lincoln and Mary were engaged; everything was ready and prepared for the marriage, even the supper. Lincoln failed to meet his engagement. Cause—insanity!"⁴ Paul M. Angle says that this statement in its original form is in Herndon's handwriting.⁵ Now, if no such wedding was scheduled to take place on January 1, 1841, then somebody did some bad reporting—either Mrs. Edwards about her sister who lived in her home, married in it, and died in it, or else Herndon about what Mrs. Edwards told him. There can be no question about that.

Herndon claims that the wedding was to take place in the Edwards parlor on January 1, 1841; that the guests arrived at the appointed time, but the bridegroom failed to appear; that an hour passed, and messengers were sent out for him; that another hour passed, and finally the guests departed without supper; that Lincoln was found at daybreak, miserable, desperate, and the object of pity; that his friends feared he would commit suicide and watched him day and night; that toward the close of the legislative session he resumed his seat in it; that he merely answered roll call but took no active part in the proceedings and made no speeches; and that after adjournment, he accompanied Speed to the latter's home in Kentucky. This, in brief and without the trimmings, is the Herndon tale.⁶

³Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, 321n.

⁴*Ibid.*, 322n.

⁵Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle, *Mary Lincoln, Wife and Widow* (New York, 1932), 332n.

⁶William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* (Chicago, New York and San Francisco, 1889), I, 200-201.

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But William E. Barton, in his *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, published in 1925, refutes this story and proves most of the Herndon allegations false. He shows that, notwithstanding the prominence of the principals, no notice was published in the paper of their intention to wed; that no license to marry had been taken out; that Lincoln answered roll call on January second, the following day, missed Monday, the fourth, was present on every legislative day until the thirteenth, missed until the nineteenth when he was present, missed the twentieth, and was present on every legislative day thereafter until the close of the session on March first; that Lincoln did take part in the proceedings and made a speech; that the fear he would commit suicide was not confirmed by those of the Butler household, where he boarded; that he did not flee from Springfield to Speed's home in Kentucky immediately after the legislature adjourned, but that this visit was made late in the summer; that the "fatal first of January, 1841," which Lincoln later referred to in his letter to Speed, relates to the date when the engagement was broken, and not when a wedding was to take place.⁷ Now, if Herndon was wrong on all of these associated facts, how can we reasonably assume he was right that there was to be a wedding? And if there was not to be a wedding, then we are bound to wonder why Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards should give him that purported statement.

Moreover, Mr. Angle in his recent work, *Mary Lincoln*, published in 1932 in conjunction with Carl Sandburg, also shows that no such wedding could have been planned as Herndon describes. He takes up this matter separately in an appendix and goes into the correspondence of Mary Todd; her friend, Mercy Levering; and James C. Conkling, friend to Mercy Levering. All this correspondence, save

⁷William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1925), I, 257, 259.

one letter of Mary Todd's, was written after January 1, 1841, the date which Herndon claims was set for the wedding. And with strong reasoning Mr. Angle holds that the "Conkling-Levering correspondence proves conclusively that no such episode as Lamon and Herndon describe could have occurred on that day."⁸ He shows that this correspondence does not contain the slightest hint that any wedding had been planned; that Mary Todd in her letters held no ill will against Lincoln and was even anxious that their former relations be resumed, which certainly would not have been the case had Lincoln jilted her at the altar; that a proud woman like Mary Todd would have held Lincoln in scorn had he so wronged her; and that Mary Todd realized that Lincoln was not himself when he broke their engagement, and that explains why she welcomed him back.

So it has become very definitely established that Herndon's story is a myth. And although Doctor Evans does not enter into the controversy proper, he does give his conclusions. Says the Doctor: "Herndon conveys the impression that revenge, or its equivalent, was the key to those acts of Mrs. Lincoln that puzzled so many people. In order to support the thesis, he exaggerates what happened or did not happen in January, 1841. In furtherance of his thesis, too, he made use of things he knew and things he learned from Springfield gossip; and doubtless he again exaggerated."⁹ I agree with the Doctor. To bolster his revenge theory, it was necessary for Herndon to establish a motive for Mary Todd. Revenge must have a motive. So out of the loose gossip of more than half a century, and not from what he knew, (for he could not know what did not happen), Herndon built his first myth about Lincoln running away on his wedding night, which fabrication he cites as proof to sus-

⁸Sandburg and Angle, *Mary Lincoln*, 330.

⁹Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 16.

tain his second myth that Mary Todd married Lincoln for revenge. These two myths at the very outset placed Mrs. Lincoln before the public in a false and very unfavorable light. And to further humiliate and degrade her in the public estimation, upon these myths Herndon pyramided his third myth, namely, the Lincoln-Ann Rutledge love affair.

This Rutledge story, as Doctor Evans says, "served Herndon's purpose well." According to Herndon, so grief-stricken was Lincoln by Miss Rutledge's death that for weeks he walked in that narrow vale which divides reason from insanity. In fact, her decease was supposed to have metamorphosed Lincoln's nature. As the story goes, he had to be watched on stormy days lest he take his own life, for it filled him with "indescribable grief" to think of the rain falling on her grave. In this drama of romance Ann Rutledge is the sweet and gentle lover—the promised bride with whom Lincoln's heart was buried; Mary Todd, the wily, calculating schemer, who eventually married him for revenge. Of course the public loved Herndon's Ann Rutledge, but his Mary Todd it scorned. Lincoln it pitied, for he lost the girl who presumably would have made him happy ever after and then married a "she-wolf" who out of revenge and sheer cussedness proceeded to wreck the peace of his domestic life.

Well, what is the truth? In a little more than a year after Ann Rutledge died, and before the grass was green on her grave, Lincoln was courting Mary Owens! As regards this whole piece of exaggeration, Doctor Evans says: "I am convinced that there was no adequate basis for the story. The theory that this love affair was a major factor in shaping Abraham Lincoln's life is founded on emotion and is without logic, sense, or foundation in fact. But, however much of a myth it was, it served Herndon's purpose well. Having demolished Mrs. Lincoln's reputation, he was left un-

der the necessity of finding a romance for Abraham Lincoln."¹⁰

Here I agree with Evans one hundred per cent. To make a tale to his liking, and which would react against Mrs. Lincoln, Herndon went in for romance building, but he did not trouble his conscience as to the materials he put into it, nor whom he injured. But, in attempting to reconcile his position on Herndon with that of Mr. Angle, who wrote the Editor's Preface for the 1930 Herndon-Weik edition, Evans in a footnote says in part: "I am sure that Herndon always intended to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. . . ."¹¹ Now I disagree with him. If Herndon intended to tell the truth, then why did he hide from the public what he did not want it to know and feed it only that which served his purpose? Angle tells us that in the Ann Rutledge story Herndon gave to the public only that side which supported his myth and suppressed all statements in his possession that controverted it.¹²

This Rutledge story as regards Mrs. Lincoln was no inconsequential matter and cannot be lightly glossed over. The good name and historical rating of the wife of a great President were at stake. Herndon was keen. He wrote for posterity and so declared himself. He knew he was assassinating a reputation with age-old gossip and contradicted hearsay, which, because of its malicious and dangerous character, no self-respecting court would even touch or consider. Angle says: "Some of those to whom Herndon wrote replied that in their opinion the affair amounted to nothing, others felt that Ann cared just as much for McNamar as for Lincoln, while 'Uncle' Jimmy Short, whom Lincoln visited every few days, said that he had never heard of the

¹⁰Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 18.

¹¹Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 19n.

¹²Paul M. Angle, ed., *Herndon's Lincoln* (New York, 1930), xl-xlii.

episode," and he was honor-bound to himself and duty-bound to posterity to lay all of his cards on the table, and not slip half of them up his sleeve. There are no crafty tricks in truth. Angle says: "Of reliable evidence touching upon the romance itself, there is not the slightest particle."¹³ Herndon well knew that if he gave to the public all the information at his command, his story would be called into question and discredited. More than that, he was a lawyer and knew the rules of equity. He knew that if he took his case against Mrs. Lincoln into the high court of equity, he would have to come in with clean hands. So instead of going into that honorable tribunal where ALL the evidence must be produced and inquired into, and where the sole object is to render justice, he went into a cheap justice court, and on flimsy, gossipy evidence, which he knew was contradicted, and hiding all that was not in his favor, took a snap judgment against her.

Now, why did Herndon do this? Doctor Evans tells us. Says he: "In constructing a story that would give him his revenge against Mrs. Lincoln, Herndon developed the Ann Rutledge romance."¹⁴ So Herndon, who accused Mary Todd of marrying Lincoln for revenge, was himself motivated by revenge against her! And although he holds Herndon up as a disciple of truth, as far as intent is concerned, I am sure Doctor Evans will agree with me that Herndon's act was unmanly, and his motive was low. Nor can we be unmindful that revenge bears a hard conscience. And when revenge goes out gunning for a victim and meets truth, which is not friendly or to its liking, poor truth usually gets the worst of it.

Nor does the Doctor stand alone in attributing Herndon's

¹³*Herndon's Lincoln* (Angle, ed.), xli. (This is the edition hereinafter referred to unless otherwise specified.)

¹⁴Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 16.

act to revenge. William E. Barton, who preceded Evans, went on record that Herndon and Mrs. Lincoln cordially disliked each other and that "he had his cruel revenge in what he told about her in his 'Life of Lincoln' and his lecture on Ann Rutledge."¹⁵ On this point Barton and Evans unquestionably are right. When we see one person bearing animus against another, and then see him injure that other by a deceptive and artfully concocted story, the motive becomes apparent. As bearing on Herndon's animus Doctor Evans has this to say: "Herndon loved Lincoln, even though he chastened him; but he had no liking for Lincoln's wife."¹⁶ And again he says: "The ill will between Mrs. Lincoln and Herndon smoldered all through the Springfield years. It burned high when Herndon lectured and when he wrote the Lincoln biographies."¹⁷

Thus, to disparage Mrs. Lincoln and make it appear that the only true love which Lincoln ever knew died in his early youth, Herndon spun the Rutledge yarn. Theorist that he was, withal he was shrewd and clever. If there was one thing that Herndon prided himself on, it was his ability to diagnose cause and effect and to forecast consequences. He studied philosophy and reveled in metaphysics, reasoned on human nature and its laws, and expounded the principles of logic. So it was no dull-witted or innocent-minded Herndon, ignorant of what reaction his Rutledge story would have on the public mind, who demolished Mrs. Lincoln. Manifestly, he intended to do just what he did do—blast her reputation.

To ruin a reputation does not require much falsehood. A little poison will pollute a whole well. And Herndon is the fountain-head from which flows a stream of condemnatory information about Mrs. Lincoln which, because of the

¹⁵Barton, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 249.

¹⁶Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 15.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

contamination in it, none may safely drink. His Rutledge story the public in general, and later even Lincoln biographers as well, swallowed hook, sinker, line, and all, notwithstanding that Isaac N. Arnold had previously served notice that this tale was overdrawn, while J. G. Holland, another contemporary, ignored it entirely. The public drank of his stream and was poisoned, and Mrs. Lincoln, in the misery of her age and in her memory ever since, has suffered a most cruel and gross injustice.

Such was the vindictive myth, and the deceptive manner of its creation, that Herndon used to avenge himself on Mrs. Lincoln—the same Herndon who relates in his biography how Lincoln stood before a jury and quoted that sublime passage:

“Good name in man or woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls;
Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him
And makes me poor indeed.”¹⁸

And then by innuendo, myths, and half-truths—including a collection of hand-picked hearsay stories, all aimed with the single purpose of discrediting Mrs. Lincoln—he proceeded to filch from the wife of his former partner and mother of his children, her good name; the same Herndon who the year following Lincoln's assassination, wrote to the grief-stricken widow in Chicago requesting information, both in regard to Lincoln and herself to assist him in his writings, and when she let bygones be bygones and graciously acceded, met her at Springfield with smiles and extended to her the right hand of fellowship, while in his left hand he

¹⁸*Herndon's Lincoln*, 492.

hid a hatchet behind his back and, after obtaining much desired information,¹⁹ took to the lecture platform to defame and assault a woman who was already down and at whose hand he had asked and received a bounty. Herndon was feeding his revenge.

Out of what then was that revenge born? A grudge. Whence came the grudge? Possibly it was conceived on the night when they first met and she reprimanded him for his compliment that she danced "with the ease of a serpent." Possibly it deepened through the years as they mutually grew to dislike and distrust each other. Possibly it was whetted when Lincoln, the President, honored Judge Davis and other of his old Illinois friends but passed Herndon by, and in this he saw the hand of Mrs. Lincoln and it made him bitter toward her. But whatever the grievances that motivated him, the fact is he suppressed evidence and created a myth which degraded Mrs. Lincoln. And notwithstanding the fact that he had been forewarned of the falsity of his story, he proceeded with a reckless, heartless disregard of what the truth might be, utterly unmoved by the injustice of it all. Not even the innocence of Lincoln's two surviving sons, upon whom also would fall the blighting effect from this castigation of their mother, could stay his hand. If such conduct as this is to be winked at and condoned instead of condemned, then what safeguard has reputation?

If some here may not agree with us, at least we have Lincoln on our side. For we know what he thought about this thing of forcing the other party on the defensive by preferring affirmative and unsubstantiated charges, thus putting the accused in the inextricable position of proving a negative. He would have told Herndon in no uncertain

¹⁹Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 17. Evans says: "She gave him much information that he wanted, but he made no reference to the marriage for revenge, the disappointed bride, the Ann Rutledge story, or to his intention to give lectures on the domestic life of the Lincolns."

terms either to produce some credible proof of his charges, or else hold his peace. Nor would a plea from Herndon that, although mistaken, he had acted "conscientiously"—that common plea of the slanderer—be satisfactory to him. And that is precisely what he told Douglas, whom he accused of misrepresenting him without proof to back it up in their Ottawa debate.

I want to be fair to Herndon. For the facts and truths which he has given us about Lincoln and his wife, he should have our everlasting gratitude. But the myths he created, and the exaggerations he indulged in, to feed the ancient grudge he bore her, merit nothing but contempt. I cannot exonerate him as some others do. Booth assassinated Lincoln with a bullet. And he did it in the open and on the lighted stage of a theater. That was cold-blooded murder. But more mercilessly still, in the secrecy of revenge, and with myths and half-truths, Herndon assassinated Mrs. Lincoln with a pen. That was biography! And because of this infidelity with which writers too often portray their subjects, Lincoln, so Herndon informs us, distrusted biography!²⁰ Wise Abraham Lincoln! What would he say now if he could read this spiteful tale about his wife with all its myths, half-truths, gross exaggerations, and distortions of facts!

Nor would I intentionally rob Lincoln of one iota in order to build up a more favorable case for his wife. That would be dishonest. But on the other hand, I would not withhold from Mrs. Lincoln credit that I thought due her, or attempt to saddle all responsibility and blame upon her weaker shoulders in order to glorify her husband the more, or shield him from facts which may not be complimentary to him. That would be equally dishonest. And Lincoln himself would have been the last man in the world to do so.

²⁰*Herndon's Lincoln*, 353.

So let us face the facts, whatever they may be, and face them with candor and honesty. Let us visualize as best we can these two people as they lived together. Let us shake off, at least for the time being, this idolatry and hero worship, which tend to blind us, and think of Lincoln as a man, six feet, four inches tall, composed of flesh, blood, and bone, and endowed with a mind. And let us divest ourselves of that other picture of him as a god of perfection, whose image has been cut in marble before which we stand and gaze in awe, and of whom it seems almost a sacrilege to admit that he had faults, let alone to discuss them intimately. For only by knowing something of Lincoln's domestic life can we hope to so much as become acquainted with his wife. For the fact is that the waters of these two lives intermingled for twenty-two and a half years and flowed in a common stream.

If we were living in his time and, several years after his marriage, should stroll down Eighth Street in Springfield, at the corner of Jackson Street we would see a very unpretentious story-and-a-half frame house, with a woodpile, a privy, and an old ramshackle barn in the rear of the lot; and we would recognize it as the Lincoln home. It would be a very modest structure, bespeaking the financial humbleness of its occupants, purchased for \$1,500 with a mortgage hanging over it, and its owner still battling with a thousand dollar debt, the ghost of his business failure, incurred when he was what Douglas was pleased to call a "prosperous merchant" in the town of New Salem. If it so happened that we strolled by on a certain day, we should see the tall and lanky father, with head bowed, and lost in thought, pulling his little baby son in a cart over a rough wooden sidewalk. Presently we should see the little fellow tumble out and begin to cry, but the absorbed father hears it not. And we watch him pulling along the empty cart until he reaches his house, and half a block down the street we hear the baby's

cries. Still the father does not hear, but the mother in the house does. Instantly we see a fairly good looking but short and rather plump little woman with soft brown hair, excitedly rush out, and as she takes in the scene her clear blue eyes flash and her face grows red. We can see her gesticulate and hear her high-pitched voice as she lectures her husband and tells him what a good-for-nothing nursemaid he is; much the same as some of our own wives would do under the same circumstances.

And if perchance several years later we had wandered down that same street in the early evening, we could hear the wife call to her husband to come in to supper. And presently we should see him coming from the barn with a pail of milk in his hand, for he has just finished milking his cow.

And if, a little later, on the way back, we should stop and look through the front window, by the light of the kerosene lamp, we should see the father on his back on the floor with a couple of noisy and hilarious youngsters on top of him. Within that house this night joy reigns, and all is gaiety and laughter. Finally the mother puts the children to bed, and we can hear them saying: "Our Father who art in heaven . . ." which she has taught them, for she believes in her Creator and is a member of the church. The mother returns to the living room, occupies a rocker and busies herself mending stockings while the husband reads aloud to her from *The Lexington Observer*, a paper of her native town, and discusses with her, pro and con, the arguments set forth in that paper on the issue of slavery, as well as other vital topics of the times. And thus, in serenity and contentment, a day of sunshine passes in the Lincoln household.

And if again on another evening we should look through the window of that home, we could see the family gathered at the evening meal. But now the scene has changed, and



MRS. LINCOLN
As Mistress of the White House

this is another chapter. The mother whose nerves have been worn to a frazzle by the cries of children dinning in her ears, and weary in body from labor and standing all day, glumly sits and eats her meal. Across the table sits her husband, munching his food and silent as the grave, for the melancholy spell is on him. And although she has lightened it at other times, tonight she is unequal to the occasion. Finally, one or the other speaks, which provokes words that seem privileged only for man and wife. He rises, picks up his hat, stumbles down the front steps, and spends another evening out, at the corner drug store or up at the office. The wife clears the table, washes the dishes, tucks the children in bed, and attempts to do a little reading or sewing; but weary in both mind and body, and lonely and depressed in spirit, she gives up the effort and early retires to bed. Two or three hours later the man of the house comes home, hangs up his hat, blows out the lamp she has left burning for him, and also retires. And again another day, but this time one of shadows, passes in the Lincoln household. And the days come and go in that home as in all others, with their ever-changing and shifting scenes—of smiles and tears, joys and sorrows, births and deaths—much the same as in your home or mine, differentiated only by degree. This, I think, though brief and sketchy, portrays with some degree of faithfulness, the Lincoln home as the reliable facts of history record it.

It is not necessary to review in detail Mrs. Lincoln's faults as they have been constantly paraded before us, and we are all familiar with them. The necessity, rather, is for a review of the over-emphasis, and in some cases, hysteria, which have been placed upon them. That she had a nervous disposition and was emotional and quick-tempered is not disputed; but that she was a perpetual storm is disputed. That she had great ambition is not questioned; but that it

was as sinister as has been painted, and merits the condemnation which it has received, is questioned. That she had a sharp wit and a tongue that could match her wit is admitted; but that it was the cause of her husband's melancholy, another Herndon myth, is positively denied. That she was envious will be admitted. But Beveridge tells us that Lincoln also looked with envious eye upon the mounting success of Douglas. To envy those who outstrip us in competition is a very human trait.

That her mind broke in later years is unquestioned. But the beating she took from fortune's blows was enough to drive any woman insane. The wonder is, not that her mind broke under the strain, but that it held up as well as it did. However, there seems to be nothing in her Springfield life on which to base insanity unless it be quick temper. But General Jackson was pretty good at this temper business, yet no one has ever accused him of being crazy. And if we want to draw comparisons, we should probably find that Lincoln's melancholy constituted as great a challenge to sanity as her displays of anger, if not greater.

That she made mistakes in judgment, which is human, cannot be denied. Her folly in contracting heavy debts for clothes and jewelry while in the White House was not only a colossal blunder, but furnished her enemies with ammunition to attack her and alienate public feeling from her. She was then not the woman in Springfield, who pinched her nickels and whom some of the neighbors called stingy. But we must remember that at that time she was under a terrific strain. And, too, we learn from William O. Stoddard that at this time she was passing through a menopause, which all taken together made her mind and actions more or less erratic. At any rate she made a grave mistake by gambling on her husband's future salary, and she lost. But many of us can sympathize with her today, who, not so long ago

when everything looked rosy, also gambled on the future and have since learned what a gambler's fate can be.

That she was progressive and industrious cannot be charged a fault. But if she nagged or belabored her husband because, if it be true, that "he was disposed to loaf" and needed prodding as Newton and some other biographers claim, it made him a better man.²¹

That she often lacked tact is admitted. We learn from Stoddard that she paid many visits to the hospitals and soldiers' camps, but rarely took others with her. The wise and practical secretary took mental note of these opportunities lost. Writing in the present tense but in later years, he said: "If she were worldly-wise, she would carry newspaper correspondents, from two to five, of both sexes, every time she went, and she would have them take shorthand notes of what she says to the sick soldiers, and what the sick soldiers say to her. Then she would bring the writers back to the White House, and give them some cake—and coffee, as a rule, and show them the conservatory."²² Here was a chance to advertise herself as an angel of mercy, and warm those hearts that had grown cold against her. But not Mrs. Lincoln. Whether because of ethics or failure to sense the opportunity, we do not know. Lincoln, himself, apparently took no notice of the matter. It may be that the Lincolns felt that a good deed should be its own reward. But we do know that in a battle she stood her ground. She knew the poet's lines:

"Come one, come all! this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I."

But she did not know his other line:

"Discretion is the better part of valor."

²¹Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, 322.

²²William O. Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Times* (New York, 1890), 87-88.

With bluntness she sometimes made virtuous honesty look ugly as a vice. She disdained to flatter, and what her breast engendered, her tongue spoke. But to her eternal credit, she never looked the innocent flower and was the serpent under it.

That she had a strong will and great determination is true. But good can flow from vices as well as evil from virtues. So we have those who contend that the only worthwhile contributions which Mrs. Lincoln made to her husband came by the indirect and not the direct route, and through some fault or vice on her part. For example, they say she made it so hot for him that he had to get out and hustle, and thus she helped him; that she taught him patience and tolerance by turning loose on him an unchained temper; that she saved her husband for his country by refusing to consider a post in Oregon, but her motives were selfish; that he learned a valuable lesson about anonymous letter writing in the Shields duel episode, and here they are perfectly willing to see that full justice is done and to give her all the credit for the embarrassment in which Lincoln found himself. Nay more, some have even taken Lincoln out of the role of anonymous letter writer, and have used this episode to make a hero of him by painting him as the gallant knight who championed a lady's cause by assuming authorship of letters which she, and not he, wrote. The hero must not be a dispenser of ridicule and buffoonery under "Rebecca's" name, for there is nothing glorious in that, so he must be purged, even if we have to lay all the blame on a woman.

In regard to this episode, Doctor Evans quotes Beveridge, who says: "Thus ended the most lurid personal incident in Lincoln's entire life, the significance of which in his development is vital." And then the Doctor concludes: "If Beveridge's view be accepted, Mary Todd deeply influenced

Lincoln because she was the cause of that incident. I am of the opinion that while the Shields duel episode changed Lincoln's political methods, it had no profound influence on his mentality."²³ I confess I cannot split the hair so fine as to see how Lincoln's political methods could be changed without showing growth and development and a corresponding change in his mentality. And while Evans neither specifically affirms nor denies that Lincoln was the author of any of these particular letters, he does admit that Lincoln was guilty of the practice. For, says he: "Early in his life he was a good deal of a country bumpkin, and not infrequently he wrote anonymous letters that contained buffoonery. The Shields duel episode was the somewhat dramatic and embarrassing event which ended Lincoln's indulgence in clowning."²⁴

Now Beveridge has gone into this matter with great thoroughness and detail, and is very convincing. He holds that Lincoln is the author of three of the four anonymous letters in question which attacked Shields with ridicule in the *Sangamo Journal*. I believe beyond the shadow of a doubt that Lincoln did write a part of those letters, or at least had a hand in their writing. In fact, Lincoln's three friends—Merryman, Bledsoe and Butler, who represented him in the quarrel—admitted in correspondence that Lincoln did write one of the letters.²⁵ The last letter, which Mary Todd and Julia Jayne wrote, was but the match which set off the powder contained in the three preceding ones. And to put all the blame on Mary Todd for the duel episode is nothing but subterfuge. Concluding, Beveridge sums up as follows: "In the same issue of the *Journal* containing the above account appeared a fourth Rebecca letter. It was crude and clumsy, and held Shields' physical courage up to scorn. The

²³Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 328.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Herndon's Lincoln*, 202.

last Rebecca letter was the work of Mary Todd and Julia Jayne. While the anonymous assaults on the State Auditor had been appearing in the Whig paper, Lincoln was meeting the two girls at the house of the editor. They thought the Rebecca letters were funny, and with Lincoln's consent produced the final screed of the series, in which Rebecca appears as a widow."²⁶

Now, let us be fair. If Mrs. Lincoln is to be accredited for contributions rendered to her husband by virtue of her faults and failings, then why, in the name of justice, should credit be denied her for those other greater contributions which she rendered to him by virtue of her better self? To be sure, Doctor Evans will answer: because she did not make them. For says he: "If we set side by side the Lincoln of 1839 and the Lincoln of 1865, and compare them, point by point, detail by detail, we realize that potent influences were at work in this twenty-six year period. I doubt if in all history there is an illustration of greater change in personality, mentality, and culture, where the person under comparison was thirty years old at the beginning of the observation. No single agency was responsible for the change in Abraham Lincoln, and certainly I would not undertake to show that Mrs. Lincoln was entitled to a great deal of the credit."²⁷

And again, after analyzing the minds of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, Evans concludes: "Summing it up, I cannot think that on matters of importance—or, in the long run, on many of lesser importance—Mrs. Lincoln's mind influenced that of her husband to any great extent."²⁸

Can it be possible that only on matters where ignominy

²⁶Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston and New York, 1928), I, 343.

²⁷Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 327.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 334.

attaches, her mind influenced her husband for the good, but on all others, where glory attaches, it ceased to function? Did her ambition and driving power mean nothing? Did it mean nothing that for all those years she had *The Lexington Observer* sent into that home, a paper printed in a border state and setting forth both sides of the slavery agitation? Can it be possible that Lincoln, keen observer that he was, and getting his education not so much out of books as out of the minds of men and women, could live in Springfield for eighteen years with this stout-hearted, ambitious Southern woman, and not have his mind influenced by her, directly as well as indirectly?

But hear what William H. Townsend says. He writes:

"It may have been that gentle Ann Rutledge, or portly, complacent Mary Owens, or youthful, light-hearted Sarah Rickard could have endowed the tall Sycamore of the Sangamon with richer measure of marital bliss, but never did a young wife bring to a husband, interested in statecraft and anxious for preferment, such wealth of first-hand information on a grave moral and political subject—such fruits of intimate association with great public men of her day, as did Mary Todd to Abraham Lincoln."²⁹

That, as Townsend I think fairly states it, was Mary Todd's contribution to Abraham Lincoln. Read the Lincoln speeches, and nowhere can you find a single bitter utterance that ever fell from his lips against the Southern people. He loved the Southern people. And in his Cincinnati speech on September 17, 1859, he told a Southern audience: "We mean to remember that you are as good as we are; that there is no difference between us other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other

²⁹William H. Townsend, *Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town* (Indianapolis, 1929), 87.

people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly. We mean to marry your girls when we have a chance—the white ones I mean, and I have the honor to inform you that I once did have a chance in that way.” Always he spoke with sympathetic understanding of their problems. Why? Because his mind had been balanced on the slavery question by such influences as *The Lexington Observer*, his good friend, Joshua Speed, other people from the South who had emigrated into Illinois, and last but not least, his intelligent, educated, cultured, and well-read Southern wife. And much as we want to give Lincoln credit for the development of his own mind, and great as is the credit due him for his own exertions in that regard, let us not deceive ourselves that Lincoln owes nothing to others. His mind did not just grow up, like Topsy, by itself. It was influenced and developed by his environment and the contacts of other minds with his own. And it touched the mind of his wife more intimately than any other. Even Herndon gave her more credit than many biographers that followed him. For says he: “She was gifted with a rare insight into the motives that actuate mankind, and there is no doubt that much of Lincoln’s success was in a measure attributable to her acuteness and the stimulus of her influence.” And this is testimony from one who for years had sat on the opposite side of an office table from Lincoln and who wrote not to praise Mrs. Lincoln, but to censure her. And when Herndon will give her credit, we can be sure she deserves it.

Doctor Evans in his work on Mrs. Lincoln concludes his book by devoting three and a half pages to a chapter entitled “Justice.” He quotes from a number of authors, among them Doctor William E. Barton, who said:

“But if we are unintentionally cruel to our Presidents, what shall be said of the manner in which we treat their wives? Who among them has escaped idle curiosity and

even spiteful slander? . . . No woman who has occupied the White House, unless possibly the wife of Andrew Jackson, has suffered such merciless slander. The time has come when it should be possible to tell the truth concerning Mary Todd Lincoln."

But Doctor Evans' own contribution to the cause of justice in this chapter is summed up in a single and closing paragraph. Says he:

"The science of behavior has developed far enough now for a sense of fair play to support a demand for less condemnation of Mrs. Lincoln between 1861 and 1871; you and I should be as understanding and sympathetic as Stoddard was after he had received the physician's opinion. Who to-day would condemn Mrs. Lincoln for her behavior in the last seventeen years of her life? If anyone does, he marks himself as uninformed and unfair."³⁰

Now, I cannot accept Evans' conclusions in full, and must respectfully differ with him. I believe that the lessening of condemnation against Mrs. Lincoln should not be limited to that period between 1861 and 1871, when she was passing through a menopause, referred to in the doctor's opinion to Stoddard, and was broken by grief and much of the time was irresponsible for her actions, but that justice in full measure should be rendered to her during those preceding years when she was Lincoln's wife. And, furthermore, I believe that we are now far enough removed from the animosities of her time, so that public opinion, if properly enlightened, will sustain this. I agree with Barton that the time has come when the truth about Mrs. Lincoln should be told—the whole truth, and not only a part of it. Posterity is honest, wants to do justice, and will do it when it discovers that it has been deceived and hoaxed. If justice is to be given to

³⁰Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 352.

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her, it should be where it is now denied, not when she was wandering over the earth, an outcast in black, but when she was the wife of Lincoln, both in her Springfield home and in the White House.

So let us leave her now to the solitude of her misery where, bent in form and broken in both mind and body, she shuts herself from the world in that darkened parlor of the Edwards home, with the shades pulled down and a candle burning, although outdoors the sun is brightly shining, and the birds are singing, while we turn back the years and focus our attention upon her as a sweetheart and a wife.

And since Herndon's is the master voice, which so many others have but echoed, let us join issues with him and reason a little closer. First, let us get a little better acquainted with Herndon. What kind of a mind had this man who drew such a woeful picture of Mrs. Lincoln? Mr. Angle, in the Editor's Preface already noted, has made a keen analysis of Herndon's mental traits.³¹ For the following material and observations relative to Herndon's mind, I am indebted to him.

That Herndon was highly egotistical and believed himself possessed of great analytical and intuitive powers is manifest from his own words. In a letter to Theodore Parker, he wrote that because of Lincoln's reticence "you had to take some leading—great leading and a well established fact of Lincoln's nature and then follow it by accurate and close analysis wherever it went." "This process," says he, "would lead you correctly if you knew human nature and its laws." This is deductive reasoning—in a word, his logic.

That he considered himself somewhat of a clairvoyant is

³¹*Herndon's Lincoln*, xxxix.

manifest from the letter he wrote to Remsburg about Douglas, which reads in part: "If I could look Douglas in the eye, I could tell what is going on . . . There is a peculiar tie which binds men together who have drunk 'bouts' together. . . . I am hard to fool, friends, by man." This is his egotism.

Of Lincoln's contest with Douglas for the Senate, he writes: "My intuition . . . brute forecast, if you will . . . my bones tell me all is not safe." This is his intuition.

That he disliked Mrs. Lincoln and bore her ill will is certain. We have seen what Barton and Evans thought on this matter. Other writers such as Charnwood, Helm, Morrow, and Sandburg hold like opinions. And then we have still other writers who remain silent. But I cannot recall a single biographer who has put himself on record that Herndon was not prejudiced and did not bear Mrs. Lincoln ill will.

And so, aided by deductive reasoning, and with strong intuitive feelings, Herndon proceeded to paint a picture of a woman against whom he held a grudge and who now was in her grave. And, after first assuring himself that he was "treading on no person's toes, for all the actors in this domestic drama are dead,"³² he, nevertheless, did tread with ruthless and muddy feet on somebody's memory, who was no longer present to defend herself. And, too, it must be remembered that Mrs. Lincoln had already been rendered unpopular, both by the war and himself, and he had the mob behind him. His job was easy. Her husband, as she herself, was dead, and her friends were gone.

To the picture he now paints, Herndon applies his formula. He begins with the established fact that Lincoln married Mary Todd. By deductive reasoning he seeks to show that it was a loveless marriage. This constitutes the dark

³²*Herndon's Lincoln*, 181.

background of the Mary Lincoln picture in perfect harmony with the finished work. Of Lincoln's part in this marriage, Herndon concludes: "To me it has always seemed plain that Mr. Lincoln married Mary Todd to save his honor, and in so doing, he sacrificed his domestic peace . . .; he knew he did not love her, but he had promised to marry her!"³³ Being loath to deprive Lincoln of this chivalry, we may view this reason, standing by itself, for what it is worth, and weigh it upon the scales of probability. Yet we cannot forget those words which Lincoln caused to be inscribed on her wedding ring: "Love is eternal." And something makes us wonder if, after all, there was not love for this girl in Lincoln's heart when he had that sentiment carved in gold. But if this be not sufficient reason to convert us, Herndon gives another and distinctly different one, out of harmony with, and lacking all the chivalry of the first, and based upon the low plane of ambition. For, says he, after reciting the advantages: "How natural that he [Lincoln] should seek by marriage into an influential family to establish strong connections, and at the same time to foster his political fortunes."³⁴ Over Lincoln's love Herndon now casts the purple hue of ambition. Lincoln married Mary Todd, not because he loved her—although three weeks after the first engagement was broken by him, he wrote to his partner, Stuart, that he was "the most miserable man living"—not even now to save his honor, but with a sneaking design to advance his own political fortunes. Love with him was a commodity to be bartered. Not unmindful of the surge of ambition, somehow this does not quite click with our conception of the moral fiber of Lincoln, of whose innate honesty and conscientious rectitude we have so many beautiful examples. This second reason we eye with suspicion and

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Herndon's Lincoln*, 163.

begin to wonder if the artist is not putting the paint on a little too thick.

On the part of Mary Todd he writes—for on both sides this is to be a loveless marriage—: “. . . In him she saw position in society, prominence in the world, and the grandest social distinction.”³⁵ This sounds plausible and warrants close scrutiny. Indeed, it has converted millions. For ambition, we are told, was Mary Todd’s middle name. But then along comes Beveridge, who points out that up to 1840, the year of the engagement, Lincoln in Springfield was not a brilliant social success. On this point Beveridge is ably sustained by Henry C. Whitney, who knew Lincoln well.³⁶ Even Herndon admits that Lincoln “was poor, besides lacking the graces and ease of bearing obtained through mingling in polite society.”³⁷ But further, says Beveridge, that “while Lincoln strove to be attractive and pleasing when he attended social gatherings, he was not in high favor with women generally. . . . At any rate he was curiously shy, ill at ease, and even perplexed in their presence.”³⁸

Now the truth is, it was Stephen A. Douglas who was one of the social lions of Springfield. Herndon claims that Douglas was Lincoln’s rival suitor.³⁹ Barton accepts this contention and says that Mary Todd “had no lack of suitors” and that “Stephen A. Douglas was among the men whose hearts were laid at her feet.”⁴⁰ But we need cite no other authority on Douglas’ superiority over Lincoln socially than Herndon himself, who writes: “As a society man, Douglas was infinitely more accomplished, more at-

³⁵*Herndon’s Lincoln*, 182.

³⁶Henry C. Whitney, *Life of Lincoln* (New York, 1908), I, 168.

³⁷*Herndon’s Lincoln*, 163.

³⁸Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 305.

³⁹*Herndon’s Lincoln*, 167.

⁴⁰Barton, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 257.

tractive and influential than Lincoln.”⁴¹ Moreover, in the race of ambition, Douglas was fast leaving Lincoln behind him. Prior to November 4, 1842, when Lincoln and Mary Todd were married, Douglas had been a member of the state legislature, state’s attorney, register of the land office, secretary of state, a judge of the Illinois Supreme Court, and had already made a race for Congress, losing by thirty-six votes, to which office he was elected in 1843. And to complete his record, he was elected to the United States Senate in 1846 at the age of thirty-four. Such was the record of Douglas, four years younger than Lincoln. In the language of Beveridge, he “was mounting high on swift and powerful wings.”

But in the meantime, and prior to his marriage in 1842, Lincoln was still a member of the state legislature where Douglas had started with him. The status of Lincoln at this time is best told by his own letter to Speed, written on July 4, 1842, only four months before his marriage, when he said: “I do not think I can come to Kentucky this season. I am so poor and make so little headway in the world that I drop back in a month of idleness as much as I gain in a year’s sowing.”⁴² Such was the appraisal that Lincoln placed upon himself in 1842. And yet Mary Todd chose the debt-encumbered Lincoln, piqued at his own poverty, and complaining that he could “make so little headway in the world,” refused by Mary Owens, and “not in high favor with women generally,” and whose only wealth, like that of Bassanio, was the blood that ran in his veins. And in 1840, as Herndon admits, “Douglas, still hopeful, was warm in the race,” and yielded to Lincoln “with great reluctance.”⁴³ And being too poor to establish a home, Lincoln took his young wife from the fashionable Edwards mansion to a

⁴¹*Herndon’s Lincoln*, 167.

⁴²*Herndon’s Lincoln*, 178.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 167.

couple of rooms in the old Globe Tavern, where their first child was born, and where they lived for over a year for four dollars a week for room and board for both of them.⁴⁴

Such was the unpretentious and humble matrimonial beginning of this woman, who is supposed to have married Lincoln for social position. If that was her governing motive, then why did she reject Douglas, who Herndon admits had the greater influence, as well as social superiority, and whose star in the political firmament, as the record shows, twinkled with the brighter luster? When checked with the facts, Herndon's charge against Mary Todd is not so convincing. So those who would resolve all things against Mrs. Lincoln and accept practically everything that Herndon has written and intimated about her now find it necessary to repudiate their authority in respect to the Douglas-Todd courtship and contend that in this particular, Herndon did not know what he was writing about. So they change the Herndon version and say that the Douglas-Todd courtship was after all only a flirtation—that Douglas was playing for fun, and not keeps, and that Mary Todd was merely using him as a dupe to whet on the innocent and unsuspecting Lincoln, who blindly and stupidly fell into the trap. Yet some of those who advance this theory at other times tell us that Lincoln was cautious as a panther and shrewd as a fox. However, the fact seems to be that Mary Todd was more or less in the company of Douglas. How serious his intentions were can only be conjectured.

As he did in the case of Lincoln, Herndon also gives, as we have seen, a second reason, which in spirit quarrels with the first, as to why Mary Todd married Lincoln; namely, revenge. Did not Lincoln, Herndon reminds us, jilt her at the altar? "Love," says he, "fled at the approach of re-

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 237.

venge.”⁴⁵ He asks the world to believe that this cultured, educated, and intelligent young woman, the belle of Springfield, in love with life, of good family and high social standing, would deliberately throw her happiness to the winds and plunge herself into a life-long misery to revenge herself on Lincoln! Here Herndon has made himself appear ridiculous. His logic led him into a blind alley because it was not founded upon an established fact. Lincoln did not jilt Mary Todd at the altar. And even though he did, Herndon had not the slightest proof that Mary Todd married for revenge. That charge was founded upon nothing more than a sickly surmise.

“Hard to fool” Herndon fooled himself. At the very outset he predicated his story upon false assumptions. As a result, one falsehood called for another to support it, and the truth no longer would fit in. And, as is always true in such cases, Herndon repeatedly found himself in a quandary. Evidence he could marshal as best suited his attack, truth he could gamble with by preferring charges that could not be proved and by suppressing testimony that would not support him; but the chain of logic must not be broken. His story must hang together, else it would be discredited. For the sake of logic and to make his exposition against Mrs. Lincoln appear plausible, Herndon, time and again, was therefore compelled to exaggerate and invent. Thus, as Doctor Evans says: “Having demolished Mrs. Lincoln’s reputation, he was left under the necessity of finding a romance for Abraham Lincoln.” Hence the Rutledge myth. Charging Mary Todd with marrying Lincoln for revenge in one part of his story, he was left under the necessity of finding a motive for her in another part. Hence the fabrication about Lincoln running away on his wedding night. Or reverse the order if you will. Have first made the charge that

⁴⁵*Herndon’s Lincoln*, 182.

Lincoln jilted Mary Todd, a foundation was then laid upon which to rest an assumption as to why she married him. Hence the revenge thesis. No matter the order in which reviewed, one false assumption pleads the cause of another. And then this revenge myth in turn gives birth to another myth, equally sinister, that it was "along the lines of human conduct" and "followed as logically as an effect does the cause," that Mrs. Lincoln should seek retaliation in the after years.⁴⁶ Hence those stories attacking her character and designed to prove that she wrecked her husband's domestic peace and led him "a wild and merry dance." All these myths with their damning conclusions are inter-related, and the child of one becomes the mother of another. And thus has Mrs. Lincoln been enmeshed in a web of misrepresentations.

Lincoln unquestionably would have called them shams. He cherished the truth too much to tamper with facts. But Herndon would indulge in assumptions—the very thing on which Lincoln had once given him an object lesson when he compelled him to withdraw a count from a plea because it was founded upon surmise and not on known fact. Said Lincoln to him: ". . . You know it's a sham, and a sham is very often but another name for a lie. Don't let it go on record. The cursed thing may come staring us in the face long after this suit has been forgotten."⁴⁷ What Herndon called an "ingenious subterfuge" and thought clever, Lincoln denounced as a sham and considered folly. That others would allege to be facts that which could not be proved and which might be false, satisfied Herndon's conscience. But regardless of who would do so, Lincoln would not. Herndon was only concerned with the present and would gamble with the truth in order to win a point, but Lincoln would lose the point rather than incur the risk of fathering

⁴⁶*Herndon's Lincoln*, 182.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 264.

a falsehood which in the future might come back to stare him in the face. He knew that Herndon had no proof to sustain his charge, but relied upon a "certain construction" to make his count appear authentic, so that "alleged facts could be called facts," and that the whole thing was nothing but a sham. With Lincoln it was neither honesty nor good business. And had Herndon profited from this lesson on safe-guarding the truth, as taught and practised by his honest partner, and had not made allegations he could not substantiate, all this fabricated network which he wove around Mrs. Lincoln would never have been written.

But the Lincoln code was not Herndon's. So instead of standing on facts and solid ground, as Lincoln would have done, Herndon took flight on wings of sophistry and soared into the realm of speculation. Leaving behind the landmarks of truth, he lost his sense of direction. His compass was his logic. But his logic was founded on false assumptions. Hence the more he reasoned, the farther he got from the facts. The fact that love is one of the most motivating and powerful of passions and that Lincoln and Mary Todd, like other human beings, could have held a mutual attraction and affection for each other, found no response in him, but was buried under a mass of sinister and conflicting motives.

True, like countless others, their courtship had its heart-aches and its tears. And this in no small measure was due to the fearful and vacillating mind of Lincoln himself. No one realized this more than Lincoln, and in a letter to Speed he reproached and chided himself for it. Said he: "I must gain confidence in my own ability to keep my resolves when they are made. In that ability I once prided myself as the only chief gem of my character; that gem I lost, how and where you know too well."⁴⁸ That was Lincoln honesty.

⁴⁸*Herndon's Lincoln*, 177.

But there are others who have not been so frank. They throw out the impression—indeed, it has been boldly asserted—that Mary Todd was so full of quarrel and strife that Lincoln feared to marry her. Behind her mask of smiles, Lincoln is presumed to have seen the gathering storm; and the very sight of it drove the color from his cheeks. Hence he was married, according to Herndon, “as pale and trembling as if being driven to slaughter.”⁴⁹

In the opening of his reply to Douglas at Ottawa, Lincoln said: “When a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him—at least I find it so with myself; but when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him.” Our guess is that Lincoln would have been amused at Herndon’s account of the wedding. Nevertheless, we must admit that Lincoln was skittish about the great adventure. What was it then that he feared most? Was it Mary Todd in particular, or was it marriage in general? That it was the latter, there is much documentary evidence and convincing proof. When Lincoln first contemplated taking a wife in the person of Mary Owens, he doubted, feared, and wavered, just as he did later in his courtship with Mary Todd. But Mary Owens certainly was not a storm. As far as I can learn, her deportment was that of a lady from a well-to-do and highly respected family. Yet in the full bloom of their courtship, see what Lincoln wrote to “Friend Mary”: “I am often thinking of what we said of your coming to live at Springfield. I am afraid you would not be satisfied. There is a great deal of flourishing about in carriages here, which it would be your doom to see without sharing in it. You would have to be poor without the means of hiding your poverty. Do you believe you could bear that patiently?” And then he goes on to tell her that it would make him un-

⁴⁹*Herndon’s Lincoln*, 180.

happy if he could not make her happy. And finally he comes right out with it and says: "My opinion is you had better not do it. You have not been accustomed to hardship, and it may be more severe than you imagine. I know you are capable of thinking correctly on any subject; and if you deliberate maturely upon this before you decide, then I am willing to abide your decision."⁵⁰ However, it appears that this lady did not immediately exercise her prerogative. For, three months later, and on the same day that Miss Owens returned home from a visit to Springfield, we again find Lincoln writing her another letter in just the same tone and as indecisive as ever. In part he now writes: "And for the purpose of making the matter as plain as possible, I now say, that you can now drop the subject, dismiss your thoughts (if you ever had any) from me forever, and leave this letter unanswered, without calling forth one accusing murmur from me. And I will even go further, and say, that if it will add anything to your comfort or peace of mind to do so, it is my sincere wish that you should."⁵¹ From this it strongly appears that it was Lincoln's own peace of mind that was giving him trouble, and that he had now repented of his bargain and was trying to shake himself free of her. In fact, his letter to Mrs. Browning leaves no doubt on that point.⁵² To this lady he writes in part: "All this while, although I was fixed, 'firm as the surge-repelling rock' in my resolution, I found I was continually repenting the rashness which had led me to make it. Through life, I have been in no bondage, either real or imaginary, from the thralldom of which I so much desired to be free." And again, in the same letter he writes: "I now spent my time in planning how I might get along through life after my contemplated change of circumstances should have taken place, and how

⁵⁰*Herndon's Lincoln*, 123.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 124.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 126-29.



MRS. LINCOLN ABOUT 1865

I might procrastinate the evil day for a time, which I really dreaded as much, perhaps more, than an Irishman does the halter." If it was not marriage Lincoln feared, then what is the meaning of these passages?

At any rate, "Friend Mary" took the hint and no doubt came to the conclusion that Lincoln coddled his fears too much, and that as a lover he was a hard-headed, conscientious business man. And to his great surprise, she flatly refused him. Lincoln writes that at first he thought her refusal was merely an affectation of modesty. But when he popped the question again, he received a still more emphatic NO! Then all at once he discovered he loved her. Human nature running true to form! When he thought she was too easily won, he did not want her. But when he found he could not have her, then he wanted her. But his repeated efforts were of no avail; Mary Owens would not have him. All of which caused Lincoln to write to Mrs. Browning: "Others have been made fools of by the girls, but this can never with truth be said of me. I most emphatically in this instance made a fool of myself. I now have come to the conclusion never again to think of marrying, and for this reason: I can never be satisfied with anyone who would be blockhead enough to have me." And Mary Todd was next!

Thus did Lincoln doubt, fear, and vacillate when he courted Mary Owens. Why then, should he not experience the same doubts and fears about Mary Todd? Certainly he had every reason. Did she not move in as high a social circle as Mary Owens? Was her family less influential or wealthy? Was she more inured to hardships? Did she not appreciate carriages, finery, etc., as much? Whatever sacrifices Mary Owens would be called upon to make because of Lincoln's poverty doomed Mary Todd to the same fate. For when Lincoln married her, in the words of Judge

Davis, he was still as "poor as Job's turkey." But Mary Todd was not Mary Owens. And we can well believe that when Lincoln put the cold proposition up to her, she sought to disarm his fears, and told him that love is something more than carriages. I believe that the passionate and impulsive Mary Todd loved Lincoln more than Ann Rutledge, Mary Owens, or any other woman ever dreamed of. And we know from the record that when Lincoln went to her to break their engagement, she did the natural thing and what almost every other woman in like situation would do that loved a man—she burst into tears.⁵³ And we have it from the record too that when Lincoln finally did break their engagement, in token of her love, she left the latchstring of their friendship hanging out so that when her bewildered lover might compose himself again, he could return.⁵⁴ What better proof of a woman's devotion? Humiliated though she was, she kept the welcome light burning in the window. And Mary Todd was proud!

That it was marriage as an institution which Lincoln feared, we can be certain. His courtships with Mary Todd and Mary Owens conclusively prove this. Every epistle confirms it. Nor can you read his letters to Speed, who was also jittery about a love-affair of his own, and escape that conclusion. In one letter, in which he attempted to bolster his friend's flagging zeal, Lincoln wrote: "I have no doubt it is the peculiar misfortune of both you and me to dream dreams of Elysium far exceeding all that anything earthly can realize."⁵⁵ Here is an honest confession confidentially told. His letters are replete with confessions. But surely we can be spared from citing more of them here to prove the point.

⁵³*Herndon's Lincoln*, 169.

⁵⁴Sandburg & Angle, *Mary Lincoln*, 330.

⁵⁵*Herndon's Lincoln*, 176.

So, regardless of who was to be the bride, Lincoln feared. Had she been a saint, he undoubtedly still would have feared. So let us not shunt all the blame on Mary Todd for Lincoln's erratic behavior. Had he exhibited more of her fortitude and constancy, he would have saved himself a lot of grief. But Speed and Lincoln are not the only men who have been led up to the altar like drawn foxes. In his agitated state of mind Lincoln unquestionably spoke and wrote words which did not bespeak his calmer self, and which he probably repented all his life. But Herndon strains himself, even beyond the point of credulity, to prove that there was no such thing as love between Lincoln and Mary Todd. Thus, with such a background established, it makes his picture appear more plausible that Lincoln and his wife never really loved each other in their married life, since their marriage was founded upon sordid and selfish motives, and was barren of affection to begin with.

Of their married life in general, Herndon was equally severe. Before their marriage Lincoln is supposed to have caused her great mental agony by running away with the wedding ring. But at last she got the ring on her finger. And now comes her turn, and she is presumed to have turned loose upon him all "the bitterness of a disappointed and outraged nature."⁵⁶ As a wife, Herndon painted her very black indeed. He impugned her motives as well as her conduct. Most of the stories he told about her were not only exaggerated and colored, but gleaned from the seamy side of life. Nor was he at all particular as to where he went to get them. He even breached the bond of friendship (unless it be held that death canceled it first) and invaded and ransacked the home of his murdered and dearest friend, and whatever he could find—family spats, the hired girl's tattle, and all—he dragged out into the open and held up to a

⁵⁶*Herndon's Lincoln*, 182.

sneering world. Had Lincoln lived he would not have dared to do it; and when Lincoln was no longer present to protect his wife, Herndon's reverence for his honored partner should have been sufficient check not to malign and abuse the widow. Something, perhaps, might be pardoned Herndon for the sake of history had he been historical and confined himself to facts, and not set in motion baseless falsehoods to berate Mrs. Lincoln, which he knew himself had not one iota of positive proof to sustain them.

And just as Herndon deceived us by suppressing statements in the Rutledge affair, so he again deceives us by suppressing the truth as to the reason why Lincoln did not go home week-ends when out on the circuit as did other lawyers. "Lincoln," said he, "only went home at the end of the circuit or term of court."⁵⁷ And he makes it clear that the reason was Lincoln's wife. Not even the great fatherly love in that mighty heart for his little boys could draw him! Think of it. That was the unkindest cut of all. For it pictured Mrs. Lincoln as utterly devoid of the wifely virtues and about as mean as pen and ink could do it. But here Herndon was clinching his point by again stating a half-truth. For the fact was Lincoln could not get home. Mr. Angle points out that court in those days sat on both Saturdays and Mondays. And since Lincoln traveled the entire circuit while other lawyers did not, because of the length of distance, the shortness of time, and lack of railroad facilities, it was impossible for him to go home week-ends as did those other lawyers who practised only in adjoining counties. But "as a matter of fact," says Angle, "as transportation facilities improved, Lincoln's absences became shorter and shorter."⁵⁸

Now why did Herndon make this charge and withhold an explanation? Obviously to poison our minds against

⁵⁷*Herndon's Lincoln*, 249.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 249n.

Mrs. Lincoln so that we would believe all his other condemning tales about her and accept his version of her in toto. Could he convince us on this story, he would have our resistance whipped. He would then have us subdued to the point where we would believe anything. He set up for us what was supposed to be an established fact, from which we would deduce that Lincoln had a "she-wolf" for a wife, whom he either dared not or cared not to go home and face. Here is deductive reasoning with a vengeance! Nor can we excuse Herndon on the ground that he did not know the facts. For he tells us himself that he spent one-fourth of his time with Lincoln on the circuit.⁵⁹ Hence he must have known the conditions.

And now in all sincerity it is asked, if Herndon would deceive us with a half-truth like this, may not such other of his stories as Lincoln eating cheese in his office because he was driven out of his own house, be made of the same kind of stuff? Doctor Evans also does not like the smell of this cheese story and says that "the probability is that Lincoln was indulging in a habit which he had formed when he lived at New Salem."⁶⁰ If Evans is right in his conjecture then what is this attack upon Mrs. Lincoln by Herndon but wanton misrepresentation? That Lincoln ate cheese in his office, as has many another man, may be a truth. But was Mrs. Lincoln the cause, as Herndon contends? What assurance have we that we have not been imposed upon again? And how can such a story be either proved or disproved? There is no available evidence. Most of the Herndon yarns can be disproved, as we have seen, by direct and positive evidence. Yet there are other stories which cannot be so refuted. The evidence is lost. But it does not follow that we should blindly accept as true what, because

⁵⁹*Herndon's Lincoln*, 248.

⁶⁰Evans, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln*, 129.

of lack of direct evidence, we cannot prove as false. There still is a way by which we can judge the veracity of statements, and that is to subject them to the test of reasonableness, character, and style. And while not always infallible, nevertheless, it is a fairly reliable test. When we read a particular passage, we do not have to ask who the author is. We know his name is Shakespeare. No other style in all the world is like it. There is not even a good imitation. So it is with Lincoln. There is a distinctive Lincoln character, a distinctive Lincoln style, yes, even the Lincoln joke has its distinctive label.

So let us apply this test to those other stories which we cannot refute by positive evidence, and weigh the probabilities. Let us consider the hired girl stories first, which never cease to be cited to discredit Mrs. Lincoln. As one of these stories goes, Mrs. Lincoln was so hard to work for that, in order to keep the girl on the job, Lincoln, unbeknownst to his wife, paid the maid one dollar a week extra if "she would brave whatever storms might arise and suffer whatever might befall her, without complaint."⁶¹ Without straining the imagination, it is easy to visualize what the girl is supposed to have endured. Now, this story, if swallowed whole, goes down easily. But once we begin to open it up and dissect it, it becomes another matter. For the girl, says Herndon, actually made good on her contract and stayed for several years. For approximately fourteen cents extra a day then, this girl continued to subject herself to Mrs. Lincoln's lightning and "whatever might befall her," not for a day, nor a week, nor a month, but for several years! Now let us keep our reason and not let Herndon run away with it. If this girl was abused and was not satisfied with her lot, that dollar bribe, if indeed she was ever promised it, would not have held her for long; and she would have quit and not

⁶¹*Herndon's Lincoln*, 346.

worked for Mrs. Lincoln at any price. That is what any girl with a drop of red blood in her veins would have done; and this girl was freeborn, and not a slave. Had Mrs. Lincoln been as bad as Herndon painted her, it is conceivable that the maid might have endured her for a short period of time in order to earn sufficient money to gratify a particular desire; but never would she have stayed for several years. The story wrangles with itself. The truth probably is that Mrs. Lincoln was boss of her own household, exacting in her demands, and perhaps harder to please than the average housewife. But that she was not impossible to work for, and that the maid was treated with bearable kindness is amply attested by the fact that the girl stayed in her employ for a number of years. That is the crucial fact and tells the true story. The descriptive narration as to storms, dangers that might befall the maid, etc., is the kind of stuff which Doctor Evans has pleased to call "embroidery." And if anyone thinks that Herndon could not color and dress up a story, then let him read that touching description of Lincoln running away on his wedding night, or, better still, that sweet and tender narrative of the Lincoln-Rutledge romance—all beautiful fiction and told with the sublimity of poetry.

And now, consider the hired girl's sister story. Mrs. Lincoln, we are told, dismissed her maid. Of course it is implied that the trouble was all Mrs. Lincoln's fault. However, there are many housewives who will not agree that the maid is always free from blame. At any rate, the uncle of this girl, bent on learning why his niece had been discharged (perhaps she did not care to involve herself and tell him), went to interview Mrs. Lincoln, but she caused him to beat a hasty retreat. (Maybe he went looking for trouble and found it.) Not to be denied, he then sought out Lincoln, who in merriment was entertaining some

friends in a store. Calling Lincoln to the door, he demanded an explanation and told him of the reception he had just received from his wife. Lincoln, according to the story, listened for a moment, and then with a distressed look "mournfully" replied: "My friend, I regret to hear this, but let me ask you in all candor, can't you endure for a few moments what I have had as my daily portion for the last fifteen years?"⁶² So touched was the angry uncle that he immediately grasped the hand of an unfortunate brother in distress, expressed his deep sympathy, and "even apologized for having approached him." There was only one thing more that Herndon could have done in the coloring of this tale, and that was to have the sympathetic uncle fall in a dead faint. But perhaps Herndon thought that the story was already loaded with all it could bear.

Well, here is another story that certainly would have amused Lincoln. It was this sort of twaddle which he labeled in the Ottawa debate as Douglas' "little follies." He knew the type well. And although this story is hearsay of the most vicious character and its plain objective is defamation, and while we know nothing about the uncle—whether he was a truthful man or the biggest liar in Illinois—let us assume that such an incident did occur. Yet has not the import of this whole story been twisted and misconstrued because of a failure to weigh properly all the elements involved, including Lincoln's humor? Nothing is so easily misunderstood as language. Often we have to go behind the words to ascertain the speaker's intent. And to put a rigid construction on words, without due regard to the factors that prompt them, particularly in the case of a humorous man, is a sure way to fall into error.

So let us reconstruct this incident and try to understand what probably happened. Here was Lincoln telling stories

⁶²*Herndon's Lincoln*, 347.

in a store and brimming over with mirth. His wit was wound up and ready to strike. All of a sudden, in walks a man whose face is as sour as his temperament. He calls Lincoln aside, tells him that his niece has been discharged, that he went to see Mrs. Lincoln and of course was a perfect gentleman himself, but she said this and she did that. Now what could we expect Lincoln to do? A peaceful man himself, and at the moment in a jovial mood, certainly he would not quarrel with the uncle, who no doubt was an old acquaintance, perhaps a client of his. He saw the humorous side as was his natural bent. Drawing upon his tact, he might have said in substance: "My friend, I am sorry to hear this. But why should you get so hot under the collar? If I have stood it for the last fifteen years, you ought to be able to stand it for a few moments. Go home and forget it." The uncle, no doubt, discerning that Lincoln (who now, 1857, stood high in councils of state) was not disposed to interest himself in this feminine affair, and feeling that his own manhood could be better served by dropping the matter, became ashamed of himself. Quarrel left him. Lincoln had disarmed him by his tact and humor. Possibly he shook Lincoln by the hand as a token of no hard feelings, begged his pardon for having interrupted the entertainment, and left the store—his object thwarted, but a solaced man—whereas Lincoln went back to the boys and, for another hour or two, kept them roaring with his stories. That was one of the old tricks, which Lincoln as President sometimes practised on office seekers. They came for a job, and he gave them a story and humor—an easy and inoffensive way of getting rid of them.

That, in all probability, is all that this story amounts to. It belongs to that sleight-of-hand class which Lincoln in debate told Douglas "is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to

be a chestnut horse." It amounts to just about the same thing as though some friend should have burst into Mrs. Lincoln's home some day and said: "Mrs. Lincoln, this morning I met your husband in the store, and he was very unfriendly. When I said Goodmorning to him, he barely 'grunted' at me. [The greeting that Herndon says Lincoln sometimes gave him at the office.] I feel very bad about it and cannot understand what I have said or done to offend him." And then, to cheer her friend and lightly pass off the unhappy incident, Mrs. Lincoln might say: "Oh, my dear, pay no attention to it. You do not understand him. But if I have stood it for the last fifteen years, you should be able to endure it for a few moments." Of course, in making such a statement Mrs. Lincoln would not mean that her husband was perpetually in a melancholy mood. In fact, the friend would know better. She would only mean that Lincoln had occasionally sunk into these spells, which she had observed and contended with throughout their married life. And Lincoln's statement about his wife (if he ever made it) should be interpreted the same way. The deception of this story is that it pictures Mrs. Lincoln as a perpetual storm.

Consider, too, that Lincoln was confronted by an angry man who needed an urgent tonic for his temper. And if it be asked why Lincoln would indulge in humor at the expense of his wife, the answer is that she was the object of the uncle's wrath, and for Lincoln it was the easiest way out. It closed the door to argument. You cannot very well disagree with a man when he agrees with you. But this is not the first time in history that the courageous male has been content to let blame rest upon his mate, especially if he can get out of a tight hole himself. In fact, the practice is as old as the human race. For has not wicked Eve been ever condemned for tempting poor innocent Adam? She picked

the forbidden apple, and he, the sinner, ate it. But since all good and true men should rally in defense of their sex, Eve has always been blamed for it. Nor has human nature materially changed, at least in some respects, since the time of Eve. For even today Mrs. Lincoln is blamed for her husband's blunderings.

Of course, after the passing of a quarter of a century, we do not expect this story, as repeated by the uncle, and again retold by Herndon, to be in Lincoln's exact words. That would be asking too much of memory. Furthermore, it would be crediting human nature with an honesty not warranted by experience. Lincoln, in all probability, never used the words "my daily portion." That, no doubt, was an interpolation to make the story "good." Doctor Evans would probably call it "embroidery." Lincoln, unquestionably, would have denounced it as "a specious and fantastic arrangement of words." We all know how the repeater of a story loves to slip in his own little contribution to give it the desired flavor. And sometimes the author of a story, after several repetitions, cannot recognize his own tale. Hearsay is tricky, always unreliable, sometimes vindictive, and never to be trusted. There is ever the danger of errors of memory, innocent misinterpretation, and deliberate misinterpretation. And this particular story has every appearance of being saturated with malice. Certainly the uncle was no friend of Mrs. Lincoln's, else he would not have given to Herndon that disparaging statement. Perhaps he, too, had a little grudge of his own, and was also at last getting his sweet revenge.

Another piece of hearsay is that remark which Lincoln is reported to have made to his landlord's little boy. Herndon throws this one out to us in a foot-note. Just prior to his wedding, as this story runs, the lad, noticing that Lincoln was dressed in his best clothes, innocently inquired as to

where he was going, to which question Lincoln retorted: "To hell, I suppose."⁶³ Now, is it not amazing that Herndon should go so far afield as to drag in the like of this when the hunting grounds, as Stoddard informs us, were filled with wild stories? Skeptical about marriage, it is possible that Lincoln made that remark. We doubt much that he did. But if he did make it, we can be very sure that it was made in the vein of humor and directed at marriage in general. Marriage has long been the butt of many jokes. And many a man has referred to it as a life sentence or his own funeral. Of course he was taking a humorous dig at marriage, and meant no discredit to the woman he was marrying. But it was not in this humorous sense that the story has been flung out to us. As usual, the hard construction has been placed upon it. The poisoned dart was aimed at Mary Todd. Indeed, it trumps up a show of proof that Lincoln went to his wedding "as if being driven to slaughter." But in seeking to bolster his charge, Herndon did not only chastise Lincoln, as Doctor Evans and a preceding biographer said, he did more than that. Sometimes he grossly misrepresented him.

That Lincoln did not mean to berate Mary Todd to this boy needs no other or better proof than the character of Lincoln himself. I cannot believe that Lincoln could so play the hypocrite by casting such an aspersion upon the girl he was so soon to marry, when at the same time he carried a ring in his pocket to give her inscribed with words attesting his love. You cannot believe it unless you also believe that Lincoln was base enough to commit such duplicity. If there is any doubt about this, and we must conjecture, then let the verdict be on the side of Lincoln's known manhood.

⁶³*Herndon's Lincoln*, 180.

One more story and we will be done with scandal. Lincoln, so Herndon tells us, came to his office one morning, a dejected and mournful figure. The great future Emancipator, he says, had just had a violent quarrel with his wife. At the climax of the row, this "one of the most even-tempered men that ever lived," as Holland has described him, pushed his wife toward an open doorway facing the street and shouted: "You make the house intolerable, damn you, get out of it!"⁶⁴ Now, here is another one of those stories which you can neither prove nor disprove by direct evidence. But certainly it is not Lincolnian, either as to the words or the action. Yet, let us stretch a point, if such it be, and admit that even a saint could be provoked to damn and manhandle his wife. But it is not so easy to admit that Lincoln, the reticent man, would go to Herndon and unbosom himself about it. That is not Lincolnian either. To be sure, there is a class of men, possessed with little souls, who will go to the office and tattle on the wife and expose their domestic rows and the most intimate of family affairs. But Lincoln was not of this loose-tongued type. Nor will any man possessed of a decent sense of honor or sensitive to disgrace do it. Pride and shame alike, as well as his self-respect, tie his tongue. That Lincoln did not do it, and inconsistent as it may seem, we cite Herndon as authority. At a later date, deleting this story, he writes: "Mr. Lincoln never had a confidant, and therefore never unbosomed himself to others. He never spoke of his trials to me or, so far as I know, to any of his friends."⁶⁵ That is about as straight and plain as one could tell it. Well then, which is the truth—this statement of a later date or the story told before? One of them is wrong. In making this statement did Herndon forget he previously had told the story? Or does the statement not mean what it says, and was Herndon referring to

⁶⁴Sandburg & Angle, *Mary Lincoln*, 71.

⁶⁵*Herndon's Lincoln*, 348.

a general rule to which this and the uncle story are exceptions? Be that as it may, this quarrel story cannot be relegated to another as in the case of the uncle, the servant girl, or the little boy, but rests squarely upon Herndon's word. That his word was not infallible, and that he could fall out of the grace of truth, we know. And not for the purpose of vindictively berating Herndon, but in defense of Mrs. Lincoln, who has suffered so much misrepresentation from his pen, let us consider another incident where Herndon knowingly and falsely did misrepresent what he heard with his own ears and saw with his own eyes. And if there are those who feel that it is presumptuous to probe into Herndon's veracity, let them remember that Herndon preferred the charge, and as the accuser, made his veracity an issue himself; that this story is a black cloud on the memory of Mrs. Lincoln which can only be dispelled by attacking it at its source, and that those who speak in her defense have every right to challenge the truthfulness of him who published it to the world; that her good name is as sacred on earth or in heaven as his veracity; and that history is as much interested in the truth about her as about him, and that history plays no favorites.

He tells us that the Republican party held its first state convention at Bloomington on May 29, 1856, and adopted a platform "ringing with strong Anti-Nebraska sentiments," and that both Lincoln and himself attended in person. However, when they went home, they received a cold reception. But let Herndon tell it: "The Bloomington convention and the part Lincoln took in it met no such hearty response in Springfield as we hoped would follow. It fell flat, and in Lincoln's case drove from him many persons who had heretofore been his warm political friends. A few days after our return, we announced a meeting at the Courthouse to ratify the action of the Bloomington convention. After the

usual efforts to draw a crowd, however, only three persons had temerity enough to attend. They were Lincoln, the writer, and a courageous man named John Pain. Lincoln, in answer to the 'deafening calls' for a speech, responded that the meeting was larger than he *knew* it would be, and that while he knew that he himself and his partner would attend, he was not sure anyone else would, and yet another man had been found brave enough to come out. 'While all seems dead,' he exhorted, 'the age itself is not. It liveth as sure as our Maker liveth. Under all this seeming want of life and motion, the world does move nevertheless. Be hopeful, and now let us adjourn and appeal to the people.'"⁶⁶ Thus spoke Lincoln, says Herndon. He heard it with his own ears.

Now here is historical narrative—vivid, detailed, invoking the name of the Maker, which is usually a bid to win conviction, and save for an apparent falsity in one particular, bearing all the earmarks of truth. And to prove that his memory was clear as to what took place, he names the only three persons that assembled for the meeting—Lincoln, himself, and the "courageous" Pain. But Mr. Angle has investigated this also and finds that the Republican paper, the *Illinois State Journal*, in its issue of June 11, 1856, published an account of the meeting, which in part reads: "The Court House was filled to overflowing with a very intelligent audience last evening, assembled for the purpose of ratifying the nominations of the Peoples Anti-Nebraska Convention. Many were obliged to leave because they could not obtain seats, while a large number stood in the aisles for hours."⁶⁷ And then the article goes on to say that it having been announced that several gentlemen would address the meeting, Lincoln took the stand and made a pow-

⁶⁶*Herndon's Lincoln*, 314.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 315n.

erful speech, covering himself with glory, which he closed about ten o'clock. Even the hostile Democratic paper, the *Illinois State Register*, admitted that two hundred people attended the meeting.

Here then is the truth. So we see what Herndon could do with established facts when he really meant business. In juggling with numbers he out-did Falstaff. The best old Jack could do was to increase two men in buckram to eleven; but Herndon, with all the ease of a magician pulling a rabbit out of a hat, decreased a crowd of two hundred or more to a scant three! Nor does it seem probable that Lincoln received that cold reception, as described, when he returned home from Bloomington. And the press account which so highly lauded his speech certainly does not indicate that Lincoln had lost either in friends or popularity. Of course, Lincoln never made that counterfeit speech which Herndon put into his mouth; and for all we know, Pain might have been an invention and never existed. Talk about embroidery! Here was imagination running wild, with no respect for the truth whatsoever. In weaving this fabrication it could not have occurred to Herndon that the files of the Springfield papers might be preserved, and that one day some then unborn, inquisitive investigator might dig into the records and turn up the truth.

Nor can it be plausibly argued that Herndon was referring to some prior meeting. Had such a meeting as he described been called, and ended in failure, he certainly would have hastened to tell us about the successful one that followed. But of the meeting that did take place, he says nothing. And too, he tells us that the usual efforts were made to draw a crowd, and that only one man besides Lincoln and himself attended. Think of that! Lincoln and Herndon, two of the leading lawyers and politicians in Springfield, with a strong following, after billing the town

with posters, and no doubt whooping it up with a band, could only draw one man to a political meeting! And that, to ratify at Springfield the acts of the newly-born Republican party. On the very face of it, it is ridiculous. Moreover, the crowd which the papers chronicled did attend the meeting amply attests the fact that there were plenty of people in Springfield who were sympathetic with the movement and who not only would, but did attend such a meeting.

And now the pertinent point is this: If Herndon would so distort the facts in reporting an historical event which he helped to sponsor, and witnessed with his own eyes, and where no apparent cause for animus was present, then what may we not expect from him in reporting on Mrs. Lincoln, a woman whom he did not like, and where animus was present? His mind was infected by prejudice. And as "all seems infected that the infected spy," what an ugly woman, what devilish acts did not his imagination see? Certainly he was not qualified to tell the truth about Mrs. Lincoln. Seldom did he give her the benefit of the doubt. For the most part, he resolved all things against her. Thus, when Lincoln would go to his office in the morning in a melancholy state of mind, it was easy for Herndon to conclude "that a breeze had sprung up over the domestic sea, and that the waters were troubled." Not Lincoln, but his own instinct told him. No doubt the domestic sea was not always a placid calm. In how many homes is it? But here, as at many another time, Herndon doubtless was much indebted to his imagination. For there are many things in life besides a wife that can work on a man's humor. A sluggish liver is one of them, and Lincoln, so Stuart says, took liver pills. A restful night does not make a man go to the office in the morning, feeling like throwing the world. Political disappointments do not make him shout for joy. Busi-

ness and financial worries are not conducive to good humor. No married man, unless he thinks he is perfection itself, will hold that the wife is always to blame for the husband's morning grouch. Nor will any fair-minded man toss all the blame on Mrs. Lincoln for her husband's spells of melancholy. He knows that this affliction was ingrained in Lincoln's very nature and that he suffered from these spells long before he ever knew her. Rankin, who knew her personally, tells us that she was often the means of coaxing him out of them. Whitney and Sickles, who also knew her, inform us that in his troubled hours she gave him cheer and was his solace and comfort. So the question is not only how much truth did Herndon tell about Mrs. Lincoln, but how much did he misrepresent her.

Such is the distorted and depressing Herndon picture. But, thank God, we do not have to rely upon Herndon for all our information about Mrs. Lincoln. Others, who had no axe to grind, and who knew her personally as he did himself, have recorded their impressions of her. So let us now take a look at Mrs. Lincoln's other side, which Herndon did not concern himself so much about. First, let us hear from Henry C. Whitney. He was a lawyer and an intimate friend of the Lincolns. He knew Mrs. Lincoln well, and was often a visitor in their home. He rode the circuit with Lincoln, shared the same room with him, often the same bed. Writes he: "But the world does not and cannot know how much it is indebted to this lady (Mrs. Lincoln) that her distinguished husband's ambition was fired and stimulated to reach for the grand prize finally awarded to him; nor how much it was indebted to her for words of cheer—of hope—of comfort and solace, when all seemed dark . . . Lincoln thoroughly loved his wife. I had many reasons to know this in my intimacy with him."⁶⁸ And to

⁶⁸Whitney, *Life on the Circuit With Lincoln*, 97.

quote from him once more: "To him she bore four children; with him she sat by the death-bed, and stood by the graves of two of them; she rejoiced with him in his successes; she condoled with him in his defeats, . . . and whenever she saw an opportunity for his advancement she stimulated his ambition to compete for it."⁶⁹

So wrote Whitney of the Lincolns in Springfield. But it was at Washington as the President's wife, where the vials of public wrath were poured on her head and where she was completely crushed. The South looked upon her as the wife of an "Abolition" President who had turned traitor to her own traditions and people. One full brother and three half-brothers were fighting in the Confederate armies. A child of the South, espousing the side that spilled her brothers' blood! On the other hand, the North eyed her with deep suspicion and distrust. An adopted daughter reverting to the call of her fathers and turning against the land of her choice and her own husband! Many even made bold to call her a public enemy and a spy. Thus, though innocent as one of her own children, the dark cloud settled over her. William O. Stoddard, one of the President's private secretaries, whose duties were of a social character, in retrospection writes: "As you look at her and talk with her [Mrs. Lincoln], the fact that she has so many enemies strikes you as one of the moral curiosities of this venomous time, for she has never harmed one of the men or women who are so recklessly assailing her."⁷⁰ And, again he says: "They [her critics] are a jury empaneled to convict on every count of every indictment which any slanderous tongue may bring against her, and they have already succeeded in so poisoning the popular mind that it will never be able to judge her fairly."⁷¹ From this it can easily be seen that Herndon had a rich and productive field from which to gather material.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 98.

⁷⁰Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Times*, 86.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 52.

And to quote Stoddard again: "Every woman who has yet arrived has come as a critic, and not one of them will be capable of doing kindly justice, and they will be authorities hereafter, swelling a miserable tide of misunderstanding . . . On the whole, these women queens of society in their own parishes should have perceptive faculties capable of telling them, and others through them, that Mrs. Lincoln—a Kentucky girl whose years have been passed, for the greater part, in a growing village of Grand Prairie, among prairie villagers and settlers—is doing the honors of the White House remarkably well. Not one woman in a hundred would do any better; but these women, the visitors of this evening, consider themselves, not as one in a hundred, but each as one in a thousand, with nine hundred and ninety-nine ranged below her. So they will show her no mercy."⁷²

Thus noted the keen, observing Stoddard of women who came to scorn, many of whom no doubt, as far as birth, family, education, and ability are concerned, were not worthy to button her dress. And in his biography of Lincoln, Stoddard has this to say: "His very family was attacked, in public and in private, by the most vile and cowardly calumny. Not a few bitter tongues roundly asserted that Mrs. Lincoln, herself was in constant correspondence, as a spy, with the chiefs of the Rebellion. Through her they obtained the secrets of the Cabinet and plans of generals in the field. The insanity of the accusation does not seem to have been considered. . . . It was equally unimportant, though strictly true, that she refused to open her own private letters, and insisted that all which came to her through the mails should first be opened by one of the President's private secretaries."⁷³

So wrote Stoddard, Lincoln's private secretary. Even

⁷²Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Times*, 175-76.

⁷³Stoddard, *Abraham Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* (New York, 1885), 375-76.



MRS. LINCOLN IN OLD AGE

Lincoln himself felt called upon to appear voluntarily before an inquiring senate committee, and with heavy heart and in sorrowful tones deny the vile accusations.⁷⁴ He put his arm around his wife and tried to comfort her although he himself was as bitterly assailed as she. Around husband and wife the angry passions raged. Through four dreadful and agonizing years, during which time death had invaded their own household, while out on the battle lines men were falling like the leaves from the trees, they faced the storm together. Then on one tragic and awful April night, Lincoln, with the speed of the bullet that ended his life, was catapulted from slander and abuse to fame and glory because victory had crowned the Union arms, and he had died a martyr's death, leaving great contributions behind him. But his wife still lived a walking target for slander. By no Gettysburg Address was she affectionately remembered, but scorned for brothers lost in the Southern cause. She signed no Emancipation Proclamation. Her only contributions to the Union were submerged in her husband, and these were buried in the vault with his body. And for seventeen long, lonely, and bitter years, malice and hatred, generated out of hysteria and the poisonous fumes of war, dogged the tottering footsteps of the heart-broken wife of Abraham Lincoln until reason succumbed to grief, and merciful death at last kindly took her by the hand to lead her to her husband. And even when her tortured spirit escaped from its mortal prison, a heartless press, which had hounded her through the years as though she were a felon, chanted a dirge of hate and heaped infamy upon the dead. Well might Joseph Fort Newton exclaim: "My God, what a story!"

While passing judgment here on this maligned woman, let us stop and ponder this: What would have been the status of Lincoln if in the war the North had failed? Ma-

⁷⁴Emanuel Hertz, *Abraham Lincoln: A New Portrait* (New York, 1931), I, 239.

IN DEFENSE OF MRS. LINCOLN

lice and calumny, which relentlessly pursued them both throughout the war, and her to the end of her days and her memory ever since, would likewise probably have followed him as long as he lived; and snarling hyenas thirsting for revenge would still be howling over his grave. Lincoln gave this a thought himself. He was well aware of the alternative fate which would befall him and expressed it in these words: "If the end brings me out all right, what is said about me won't amount to anything; if the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing that I was right, would make no difference."

And several years after Lincoln's assassination, what did Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, say? Throughout the whole war he had been a frequent visitor to the Lincoln household. No man was more qualified to speak of their domestic life in Washington. Addressing the United States Senate in support of a niggardly three thousand dollar pension for the widow, which was bitterly opposed and made a political football, notwithstanding that for two weeks her husband's body had been carried from city to city to lie in state, and that thousands upon thousands of dollars had been spent on his funeral, he silenced that wrangling body by closing with these words: "Surely, the honorable members of the Senate must be weary of casting mud on the garments of the wife of Lincoln: those same garments on which one terrible night, a few years ago, gushed out the blood and brains of Abraham Lincoln. She sat beside him in the theater and she received that pitiful, that holy deluge on her hands and skirts because she was the chosen companion of his heart. She loved him. I speak of that which I know. He had all her love and Lincoln loved, as only his mighty heart could love, Mary Lincoln."⁷⁵ And for the eighteen months that he battled, carrying his

⁷⁵Honoré Willsie Morrow, *Mary Todd Lincoln* (New York, 1928), 192-93.

fight from Congress to Congress, the broken widow, who never knew before what it was to ask for outside help, but now had come to know too well the blows and buffets of a country for which her husband had laid down his life, pitifully wrote to her benefactor: "Words are inadequate to express my thanks for all your goodness to me."⁷⁶

So spoke Sumner to the United States Senate, and thence to the world, and solemnly declared he knew that of which he spoke. Mrs. Bates, who visited Mrs. Lincoln often, and whose husband was Attorney General in the President's Cabinet, said: "As the wife of a man under constant hostile criticism, she received scant courtesy in some quarters. Mrs. Lincoln lived for her husband and children, banishing before a never flagging cheerfulness her husband's cares of office while at home."⁷⁷

General Sickles said: "It was my privilege to know President Lincoln and his consort through all the years they spent at the White House. I have never seen a more devoted couple. . . . He always looked to her for comfort and consolation in his troubles and cares. Indeed, the only joy poor Lincoln knew after reaching the White House were his wife and children. She shared all his troubles and never recovered from the culminating blow when he was assassinated."⁷⁸

This sounds much like what Whitney wrote of Mrs. Lincoln in Springfield. But the real Mrs. Lincoln that Whitney, Stoddard, Sumner, Mrs. Bates, and Sickles knew is little known or appreciated today because the public has been educated in the school of Herndon. How much because of malice, spite, and misrepresentation, as Stoddard predicted; how much because of the Rutledge myth, the brain child of

⁷⁶Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner* (London, 1893), iv, 421.

⁷⁷Katherine Helm, *The True Story of Mary, Wife of Lincoln* (New York and London, 1928), 195.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 195-96.

Herndon and now exploded; how much because of a maudlin sentiment that likes to have its hero persecuted; how much because of an unrestrained zeal that resents any contributions from his wife in order to give Lincoln the sole credit and to glorify him the more—how much because of these and other like causes Mrs. Lincoln has suffered in the public esteem never can be told. But this at least we know—that she stood loyally by her husband's side in his great tribulations in life, and that she fell in anguish on her knees before him in the hour of death. When all seemed dark, as Whitney said, and he would brood over some defeat, she would inspire him with a courage that would not down. Her faith in him was unshakable. How well that faith was founded, future events proved. She recognized his greatness when others could not see it. She predicted for him triumphs of which he himself did not dare to dream. But in the face of public hostility when she made those predictions, she was laughed at and jeered. When Lincoln returned home from Congress, he was discredited in the eyes of his constituents. While in Congress, he had sought to make an issue of the spot where the Mexican War had started. Nine years later, in debate with him at Ottawa, Douglas openly charged: "Whilst in Congress, he [Lincoln] distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican war, . . . and when he returned home, he found that the indignation of the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged or obliged to retire into private life, forgotten by his former friends." Even Lincoln at the time thought that his political star had set. As a final act to salvage what he could from the wreckage, he sought to be appointed commissioner of the land office at Washington. But, as Beveridge points out, so low was Lincoln then appraised by his party, that this appointment was refused him. Finally, as a reward for party services, he was considered for

the territorial governorship of Oregon, an inferior post. Lincoln was inclined to accept, for he thought it was the best he could get. Says Herndon: "He told me himself that he felt by his course in Congress that he had committed political suicide, and wanted to try a change of locality."⁷⁹ And so, discouraged about his political future, Lincoln was ready now to quit the blasted heath and seek greener fields. But his wife flatly refused to consider it because, in the words of Barton, "she had more faith in him than he had in himself." And because of her courage and fighting spirit, for which this country is forever indebted to her, there they stayed and battled it out instead of running away. She knew the road to success was up the hill before him, and not down the grade behind him. When he was defeated for the Senate by Douglas, and others said, "Old Abe is through," she defiantly reared her head and said he would be President. And when at last he reached that exalted station, and the Confederate army marched to the gates of Washington, and others fled the city for safety, no amount of persuasion could induce her to leave her husband's side.

Such was the unfaltering faith and the indomitable spirit of this woman, who stood by her husband when clouds were black and storms were breaking, and when fair-weather friends deserted him. He had to bear with her temper, and she with his melancholy moods. He had to endure her fault-finding, and she in turn, his failings. He was not the easiest man for an exacting wife to live with. Often his manners and habits distressed her. She came from a Southern home of culture and refinement, he from a backwoods cabin, where the manners were crude. Beveridge relates some of the woodsman's traits which he retained from his boyhood days. As late as 1860 a chair was still the colloquial "cheer." He began his Cooper Union Institute Address in New York

⁷⁹*Herndon's Lincoln*, 246.

City by saying: "Mr. Cheerman." We are told that he liked to lie on his back on the floor and read, using a chair for his pillow—no doubt the habit of his youth. It is related that in sock-feet, and improperly attired, he would answer a knock at the door of his home, and then announce to the lady visitors that he would "trot the women-folks out"—the language of the woods. Whitney tells us that he was careless and indifferent about his attire. Alleging that "he was deficient in those little links that make up the chain of a woman's happiness," Mary Owens refused to marry him. Herndon tells us that he was indulgent in the extreme, and exercised no restraint over his children. They could go through his office like a tropical tornado—bend the points on all the pens, throw pencils into the spittoon, pull down all the books from their shelves, upset the ink-stands, scatter legal papers about the floor—and it was all right with him. The burden of discipline, it seems, was thrown upon the mother. No doubt she did reprove him for many things. And if what Herndon and Whitney say is true, she had much provocation. But her reproofs were not all nagging. Many of them were constructive although seldom has she been given credit. Love is not manifested only by submission. Like every woman interested in her husband, it is but natural she would want him to improve himself. Certainly she did not want successful men of the world to underrate him as did Stanton and Harding at the trial of the McCormick Reaper Case, who, although associate counsel, would not sit down at the same table and eat with him.

Lincoln was not unmindful of his wife's contributions to his success, and when the news of his nomination was flashed over the wires, his first thought was of her. Rushing to his home, he joyfully shouted: "Mary, *we're* elected!" He appreciated, as Whitney said, far more than the world can know, this woman who in her girlhood choked down her

pride and cast her lot with his, for better or for worse, and who gave her youth, her strength, and herself so unstintingly to him. From the time he left the parental door, she was the best friend he ever had. If at times he felt the sharp sting of criticism, he also felt the warm impulses of a loyal and sympathetic heart. He knew that her life was dedicated to his interests. He loved her and she loved him; and regardless of mutual faults, they were proud of each other. Herndon says “. . . When occasionally she came down to our office, it seemed to me then that she was inordinately proud of her tall and ungainly husband. . . If to others he seemed homely, to her he was the embodiment of noble manhood. . . .” Yet even on this, Herndon puts the hard construction and assigns ambition as the cause for her pride.

Mrs. Lincoln was not an angel. Neither was she a demon. She was not a she-wolf because Herndon so called her. Nor was Lincoln a gorilla because Stanton applied that name. Nor was Herndon himself a drunken soak because his enemies so unjustly labeled him. The lesser evil should never obscure the greater good. Like others, she too was human, and had her faults and failings, yet shouldered heavy duties. For six months of the year, Lincoln rode the circuit. And during that time, year in and year out, she was both father and mother to their children. Lincoln knew they were receiving loving care. And above all, he knew that in that home there lived a woman who was faithful to him. Though poor, she and her little ones were always neatly dressed with clothes she made herself. She loved the fine and beautiful, the arts, the theater, music, laughter, and the joys of life, and when in better circumstances, she gave generous parties. If in later years she soured on the world, let us not forget that her tribulations were great, and she bore more than her share of the tragedy of life.

From a fair review it is evident that she married Lincoln because she loved him and because his soul was noble and his mind clean; and she saw in him what Mary Owens and others did not, the man behind the unpressed clothes and the gloom. Marriage had its problems and its trials, but they did about as well as the most of us, and better than some of us, and there never was an angry separation. No illicit love affair ever crept into their lives. Her loyalty to her husband stands unquestioned. Not even slander has ever dared to assail her virtue. Her ambition for his success was laudable and in harmony with his own. Fortunate for him and fortunate for the Union that he had such a wife. Had it not been for her, Lincoln might have been buried in an obscure office in Oregon, and Seward perchance, if the Union could have been saved at all, might have become "The Great Emancipator."

Yet niggardly has been the credit, and vindictive has been the treatment accorded to the wife of Abraham Lincoln—she who pulled with him when the pulling was hard; who managed his home with thrift, and shouldered the heavy responsibility of bringing up their children; who did her own housework when he was too poor to hire a servant, and who baked and sewed, and scrubbed and toiled when the wolf howled at the door; who bolstered him in defeat and fired his ambition, and traveled with him the long and painful journey to the end of the road and did more than any other person to help shape his career.

Entirely too much emphasis has been placed upon her faults, and not enough consideration has been given to her virtues. As a result all just sense of proportion has been lost. And she who so richly merits the gratitude of her country has been the most maligned and misunderstood woman in its history. But to harp on exaggerated faults and ignore the good about her is neither historical nor just.

History demands a decent respect for facts, and justice requires that her commendable qualities be fairly balanced against her failings. The time will come when this will be done. Nor has the cause of Lincoln aught to suffer. He is forever glorious in his own right and needs no credit stolen from his wife. True man that he was, he would have scorned such pilfered glory. He was great in himself. She was only the means whereby his greatness was nurtured and given its fullest expression. And were it not for this inspired and courageous wife, the world, in all probability, would never have heard the name of Abraham Lincoln.

All honor to Mary Lincoln, with sympathy for the sorrows that overwhelmed her and pity for the abuses heaped upon her. Justice has been denied her. But it will not always be so. The contributions which she rendered to her husband, and through him to her country, will ultimately find their glorious resting place among the achievements of the world as a planet finds its orbit among the infinite stars of heaven. One who so enriches the world labors not in vain. Nature, in her infinite wisdom, has devised laws for the preservation of her own. And mightiest of these is truth. Truth has within itself the native power to force itself to the light. And in Mrs. Lincoln's case we can now see its visible workings. In the great scheme of things truth must prevail. And when it does, as surely it will, a grateful nation will give to Mrs. Lincoln an acknowledgment long past due for the contributions, as well as the supreme sacrifice she made in giving to her country its dearly loved and martyred President.

THE JOURNAL OF CHARLES BALLANCE OF PEORIA

Edited by

ERNEST E. EAST

Charles Ballance was lawyer, school teacher, surveyor, real-estate operator, mayor of Peoria, first colonel of a Civil War regiment, and historian. He was born at Silver Springs, Madison County, Ky., Nov. 10, 1800, of Willis and Joyce (Green) Ballance; he came to Peoria in 1831 and died there August 10, 1872. He married Julia M. Schnebly by whom he had ten children. Ballance had little formal schooling but followed a program of self-education through life. The late Judge David McCulloch said his knowledge was "encyclopedic." He published a *History of Peoria* in 1870. Ballance was an old line Whig, then a Republican. He was both litigant and attorney in several United States Supreme Court cases involving title to Peoria lots confirmed to early French inhabitants by act of Congress. Abraham Lincoln was associated with him in at least two of these cases. A journal of events of his early years in Kentucky and Illinois was kept by Ballance. The document is owned by his granddaughter, Miss Caroline M. Rice of Peoria.

Lawrenceburg December 1830

Saturday 6 Being in Harrodsburg on some business word came that Maurice Thomas was found dead in his shop at Pleasant Hill In consequence of which the coroner went out to hold an inquest over him

ERNEST E. EAST

May 1831

[May 16, 1831] Mond 16 I & I. R. Bryant (agt for the shakers)¹ compromised all our law suits He is to pay me 340 dollars Each party pays his own cost provided the cost of both shall not exceed 25 dollars if it exceeds that sum each one pays half of what is over that sum

[May 21, 1831] Sat 21 I started on a tour of business to the state of Indiana my rout was to Hardinsville 12 miles To New Castle through Christiansburg 23 miles To Bedford 16 To Madison 10 To Vernon 21 To Columbus 23 To Edinburg on Blue river 11 To Franklin 11 To Portroyal 13 To Mooresville 8 To Green Castle 27 To Rockville 25 To Roseville on Raccoon 10 To Otter creek mills 9 To Terrehaute 6 To Merom 33 To West Union 16 To Emmerson's 9 To Washington 19 To Paola through Mount Pleasant 44 To Salem 25 To Louisville through Greenville Albany 35 To Shelbyville through Middletown 30 To Hardinsville through Claysville 13 To Lawrenceburg 12

October 1831

Sat 14 I am now squaring up my business with a view of leaving this part of the country. Since the above date I took my sister Prudence from Pleasant Hill to Mr. John Green's where she resides. I at the same time took Anna Reed from the same place two days after which she was married to Abram Fite

The suit which I commenced in chancery against the shakers so far as Gale & Banta were concerned was decided at the last Lincoln circuit court in favor of the shakers but Gale & Banta have appealed with confident hopes of success

Alton Illinois Feb. 21 1832

I am now in the town of Alton waiting for a steamboat passage to Peoria.

On the eighteenth of October 1831 I bid adieu to my native state past through Hardinsville Shelbyville & Brunnerstown and arrived at Louisville in the morning of the 20th Distance from Lawrenceburg to Hardinsville 11 miles Thence to Shelbyville 14 thence to Brunnerstown 20 thence to Louisville 12 Lawrenceburg is in a handsome situation but in a poor county (Anderson) but being the seat of justice & on a public

¹The common name of the United Society of the True Believers in Christ's Second Appearing.

THE JOURNAL OF CHARLES BALLANCE

road it is improving Population 312 Hardinsville is in a poor place and can never be of much importance Shelbyville is the county [seat] of the rich county of Shelby & is a flourishing village handsomely situated. Brunnerstown is in a good neighborhood well situated in Jefferson county but too contiguous to Louisville to become of much importance

Louisville is a flourishing commercial city the seat of justice for Jefferson county

In the evening I left Louisville and passed through Shipping port a village two miles below Louisville on the Kentucky side at the foot of the falls and New Albany a flourishing town on the Indiana shore four miles from Louisville

[Oct. 21, 1831] Thus 21 Arrived a Salem a handsome healthy looking village the county seat of Washington county having many fine houses of brick & frame among the rest a college & court house that would do honor to any new county The land in this county generally lies high & dry & appears congenial to health but the soil is not very good Here I tarried three days on account of horse being lame

[Oct. 25] Tues 25 I progress on to Brownstown the county seat of Jackson county This is a dry sandy place but bears the name of being very sickly owing to some ponds & marshes in the vicinity.² However the place has been healthy during the present fall The land in this county thus far is pretty good in some places too wet & in others too sandy

Wed. 26 detained by rain

Thurs. 27 went as far as William Richard's 26½ miles on the Columbus road crossing the Driftwood fork of White river at Rockford a small village 12 miles from Brownstown in a rich though I would suppose sickly neighborhood The land from this on as far as I traveled to day is equal in appearance to any I ever saw in my life although nearly destitute of running springs but the land is only so good near the river near the margin of which the road runs The bluffs frequently approach the road on which the country is said to be poor & broken This region is well timbered & freestone water in abundance is procured by digging wells

[Oct. 28] Friday 28 traveled 23 miles to Franklin the seat of justice of Johnson county I traveled the left hand road leaving Columbus and

²Ballance makes frequent references to the "sickly" or "healthy" appearance of communities he visited. His concern may have been increased on account of a serious epidemic of cholera which caused many deaths in Illinois in 1832.

ERNEST E. EAST

Edinburg to the right The first 14 or 15 miles is dry rich land the residue extremely wet & muddy covered with beech Fran [klin] is in a handsome place but wet & I presume sickly

Sat 29 went as far as Indianapolis The country nearly level tolerably rich covered beech & other timber & extremely wet & muddy Indianapolis is a flourishing town the capital of the state on an extensive plain about a mile from the west fork of White river This is a pleasant stream navigable for steam boats in high water All this country I would judge to be sickly

Sun 30 travel 16 miles on the road to Danville through a wet rich timbered country

Mon 31 of Oct past through Danville (making a halt of two or three hours) to R Ragan's seven miles to the west of Danville through a fine timbered country Danville is the county seat of Hendricks county situated in a high dry place & in my opinion healthy It is 20 miles west of Indianapolis but further the way the road runs

[1831] Tues. 1st Nov. went three miles further to the house of James M'Conn

Wed 2 went to J. Hutton's on the road to Rockville on little Raccoon within 8 miles of Rockville The country good & apparently healthy [sic] Thurs 3rd and Frid 4th tarried with Hutton & M'bride

Sat 5th went 22 miles to Crawfordsville the seat of justice of Montgomery county This day's journey was over excellent land which lies about level enough but is in some places rather wet

Crawfordsville is a flourishing town

Sun 6th Thence 25 miles to La Fayette The first six miles from Crawfordsville is well timbered & rich but rather wet The balance of the distance is prairie & timber agreeably mixed & the land except two or three miles around La Fayette is extremely rich & lies well This is a very flourishing town on the S. E. branch of the Wabash the seat of justice for Tippecanoe county

[Nov. 7, 1831] Mon 7th progress 24 miles on the road to Covington through a rich prairie country intermixed with pleasant groves

Tues 8th traveled 29 miles to Danville in the state of Illinois through a very rich country with prairie & timber agreeably intermixed Crossed the river at Covington the county seat of Fountain county a thriving village Danville is the county seat of Vermillion & a handsome

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situation and a thriving village At Danville there is a mine of stone coal

Wed 9th proceeded 47 miles on the road to Springfield through a prairie country The last 15 miles is utterly destitute of stone & timber

Thurs 10th proceeded 42 miles to Decatur the seat of justice for Macon county The whole distance is a rich prairie country with a few groves Decatur is in a handsome situation but is a poor place

Frid 11 proceed to Springfield through a rich prairie country but the timber is more plenty than on yesterday's journey Springfield is a flourishing town said to be the largest in the state

Sat. 12 proceeded 35 miles to Jacksonville the seat of justice of Morgan county through country similar to that of yesterday Jacksonville is a flourishing town but little less than Springfield though considerably younger

[Nov. 13, 1831] Sun 13 proceeded 10 miles on the road to Beardstown through land as above

Mon 14 proceeded 15 miles to Beardstown on the east bank of the Illinois thence 12 miles to Rushville the seat of justice of Schuyler county county [sic] The land good as above to within 5 or 6 miles of Beardstown thence to Beardstown poor & sandy Opposite the latter place for two or three miles the land is subject to inundation from there to Rushville the land is high, dry & susceptible of cultivation though not of the richest mould Beardstown is in a low wet place but business seems to be brisk Rushville is in the edge of a large rich prairie

Tues 15 remained at Rushville—Poor fare

Wed 16 proceeded 30 miles on the way to Lewistown & lodged at Cadwallader's Land for four or five miles rich prairie then about 20 miles of timber mostly poor but mixed with rich spots several of the last miles pretty good prairie

Thurs 17th proceed 7 miles to Lewistown the seat of justice of Fulton county The first two miles to Spoon river is thinly timbered barrens On the north side of the river is a rich bottom well-timbered of about a mile wide subject to inundation from thence to town is high dry poor oak land On this kind of land the town is situated which gives it a healthy appearance though it is a place of not much business

ERNEST E. EAST

[Nov. 18, 1831] Frid. 18th proceeded 29 miles on the road to Peoria through a pretty good timbered country Had much difficulty in crossing Copperas which had neither ford nor ferry

Sat 19 proceed to Peoria town the seat of justice of Peoria county an situated on lake Peoria The road is through rich timber to within three or four miles of the town This last distance is a beautiful rich Prairie The road after crossing Copperas creek runs below the bluff the balance of the distance Previous to seeing this place I had determined to settle at Rushville but upon seeing this spot it so far exceeded any place I had ever seen in native beauty & combined so many advantages for a pleasant commercial town I at once resolved to spend my days here but at present there is but little doing toward making a town on account of the unsettled state of the titles to the land which however it is hoped will soon be settled

Wed 23 the accommodation at this place not being good & there being not business at which I could be employed I crossed the river and went down to Pekin through country mostly flat & rich some timber & some prairie but a part rough barrens Pekin is in a handsome place & is flourisg but I should judge it to be very sickly While I remained at this place the weather was cold beyond anything I had ever experienced and I as well as some others were under the necessity of boarding at a frame tavern which was not plaistered During this time a Lynx was shot within a mile of Pekin

[1831] On the 26 of December I left Pekin since which time I have traveled through Springfield Hillsborough the seat of justice for Montgomery Vandalia the capital of the state Greenville the seat of justice of Bond county Edwardsville the seat of justice of Madison county Illinois town³ is in St. Clair county the City St. Louis & this place [Alton] Thus it will appear that I passed the large county Sangamon in a contrary direction from that I pursued last fall but I found the description to be the same and the counties of Tazewell & Montgomery are much the same except that the latter is rather scarcer of timber and better be compared to Marion As I approached towards Vandalia I found the land less rich & more wet so that I would set down the counties of Madison Bond & Fayette & the southern part of Montgomery or so much of them as I saw as second rate land So much of St. Clair as I traveled through is low and nearly level with here & there a splendid mound wet & rich Hillsborough is a very pleasant

³Afterward East St. Louis.

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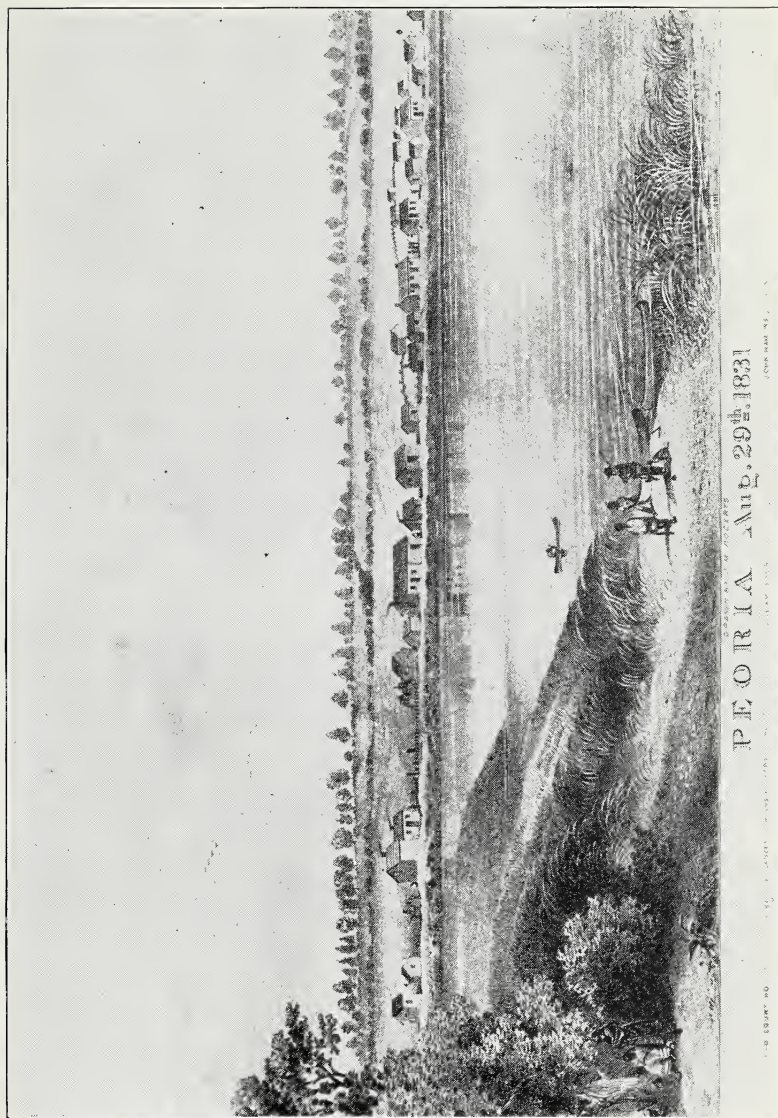
looking little place in a high dry situation Vandalia has several good houses but for a capital city of a state it is rather a poor place Greenville and Edwardsville are both pleasant little towns Illinois [town] is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi opposite St. Louis and is an inconsiderable place & is likely so to remain St. Louis is a flourishing city but wretchedly laid off the streets being by at least one half too narrow This place (Alton) is a very unsightly place but being at an advantageous point is likely to become a place of some consequence I was detained at Edwardsville three or four days with the influenza longer than my business would have required and at Illinois town & St. Louis by at least a month by the ice in the first place I could not cross for about a week & after getting over I sold my horse designing to return to Peoria by steam but the boat could not run for the ice finally the river seeming clear I embarked on board a boat which carried me a few miles above this place but was so impeded by ice that the master of the boat determined to abandon the voyage for the present & return to St. Louis and at our request landed myself & others at this place on yesterday morning

Peoria March 1832

Mon. 12 I arrived at this place on the steamboat Express [,] Reid master Although so late in the season we found immense difficulty in getting through the ice The river was pretty clear as high as the mouth of Spoon river but from there up I suppose half the distance was more or less clogged with ice At some places it was with immednse difficulty that we got through at all The banks of the river were generally overflowed so that land was no where in sight The winter past has been extremely cold A late paper states that the mercucury at Nashville sunk as low 15 degrees below zero At Pekin below this place it was so cold that a thermometer which was laid off 20 below zero seemed as no index of the weather

August 1832

Wed 15 This country has passed through much trouble since I have been in it As soon as the spring had fairly opened the stat of [sic] by a band of Sac & Fox Indians commanded by a celebrated war chief called Black Hawk They committed many murders an created general consternation throughout the northern part of state Nearly all the farms north of this place were abandoned an sundry forts were built A large army was collected to subdue them but owing to mismanagement the time for which the volunteers (of whom the army was



PEORIA AS BALANCE FIRST SAW IT

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mostly composed) had expired & they were discharged before anything decisive was done. Another army was raised by whom after much delay the Indians had been pursued beyond the bounds of the state & overtaken on the bank of the Wisconsin where thirty or forty of them were slain and from there pursued to the Mississippi where the residue were either killed or dispersed. It is said 150 were found dead besides many who were killed in the river. The soldiers are now almost continually passing this place on their way home. The farmers having been called off to act as soldiers at the time should have been planting corn there was but little planted and a drought setting in early this country will be obliged to experience another year of scarcity.

This country (or rather the people in it) being poor and thinly populated it would at best have been a poor place for the practice of law but the war & famine that prevailed have prevented me from making anything of consequence. My health has been usually good until about a month past I was at first attacked by what I supposed to be a bad cold. In two or three days it turned to a fever considerably violent & in a few days more it became regularly intermittent attacking me every other day and lasting about half a day. In a few days it was regularly preceded by a chill. It now lasted all or nearly all day. After afflicting me in this way a few days it left me & I had been for several days slowly recovering my strength when on Saturday last I had an attack of the common cholera morbus which caused me great pain & weakened me considerably. I am however on the mend again.

December 28 1832

Since writing the above paragraph my health has been very good. Times continue very dull. The water continues so low that not a steam boat has visited this place since last summer. I suppose however boats might run now were it not for the ice. We had a small rise in the river lately but before any boats arrived the river froze over however the winter this far has been very mild for the climate.

January 1834

A few days after writing the above paragraphs I think on the third of January I started on horseback to Kentucky. From Kentucky I returned about the last of March having while there letters of attorney from W D Green Nicholas Green James Cree James L Ballance and Elizabeth Ballance authorizing me to settle business in Virginia in which we were interested as the heirs of Nicholas Green sr since which

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time I have received from an agent whom I employed in Virginia about 946 dollars a part of which was mine by heirship & one half the balance for collecting The part belonging to the others I sent them from St Louis about the last of November On the 10th of June last I bought of David Mathis [Matthews] a ferry about four miles above this place at a place called the Narrow for one hundred dollars 25 of which I paid down and give a note for 25 payable in six months & 50 payable in one year Seventy five dollars was furnished for this purpose by Isaac G Lineback & he is to furnish 25 more & then we are to be joint owner of the ferry Not being able to get a ferryman I was obliged to attend it for a considerable time myself but on the 16 of September I rented it for six months to John Ross

Last winter I was elected & commissioned county surveyor for this county never sworn into office until day before yesterday My health during the forepart of last year was generally very good until the latter part of September when I was taken down with a violent bilous fever On the 18 of November I had so far recovered as to take a journey to St Louis on a steam boat but I unfortunately took cold on my arrival there which threw me into the chills & fever from the effect of which I have not yet recovered Since I have been in this country I have paid two dollars per week for board & sometimes more but never less but a few days ago I bought a house on the bank of the lake from Wm R Swinerton for four hundred dollars One hundred I paid in hand One hundred I am to pay on the first day of Sept next One hundred on the first day of April thereafter and one hundred on the first day of the following November He is to use the house until April & board me for the use of it

April 1834

Sun. 27 Since writing the above paragraph several circumstance have transpired worthy of notice I lived with Swinertons family in my house until the 11 of March On that date near midnight I started by water to Kentucky after my sister Prudence I found her still living with my friend John Green near Danville On my way thither I bought a horse at Louisville & at Danville I bought a one-horse carriage My horse being young & somewhat handsome I was fearful of injuring him & meeting with an opportunity in Little Orleans In. of buying a large bay horse for forty dollars I did so and reached home on the 16 inst. & commenced housekeeping on the 19 My health from the date of the foregoing remarks until I reached Kentucky was precarious On

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my way through Kentucky during my stay there & return home it was generally very good for a few days past I have been very unwell.

Peoria May 1835

After bringing Prudence to this place as stated on the last page she enjoyed fine health until some time in July at which time she took the ague & fever with which she has been afflicted mostly every since but as she has not had it for some time past I am in hopes she is cured I had an attack of the bilious fever last fall and by great exposure in February in traveling to Quincy I had an attack of the ague which lasted about a week and for about three weeks I have been confined at home by the rheumatism or some other affliction of my right ankle The ferry heretofore spoken of at the Narrows has for about a year been mine I having bought out the interest of Isaac G Lineback About the 16th of last March I employed Wm. G Walker to attend it one year during which time he is to build a frame dwelling house After the purchase of this property I had much trouble to secure a good title David Mathis [Matthews] from whom I purchased had a license to keep the ferry but the title to the land was in the United States and a fellow by the name of Curry had clandestinely though not entitled to it obtained a pre-emption to it which cost me much trouble & expense ultimately however I got the advantage of him by getting a pre-emption and entering the land in the name of John Ross my ferryman With regard to the land on which I live I have recently had difficulties In this part of the town there is a tract of between twelve and thirteen acres in which diverse ancient French settlers claim an interest but none of them are in possession.⁴ Bigelow⁵ & Underhill⁶ claim to own it all by virtue of a pre-

⁴Inhabitants of French Peoria were evicted in November, 1812; by Capt. Thomas E. Craig of the Illinois territorial militia, who burned part of the village. Craig suspected the French were co-operating with Indians hostile to Americans. Congress by act of March 3, 1823, confirmed to the French the lots which they had occupied. Surveys of the French claims were not approved until 1840. Meanwhile American settlers occupied the lots. Numerous suits over title arose and clogged the courts for 25 more years. Ballance in 1867 paid \$31,000 to Robert Forsyth, son of Thomas, to release French claims to lots in Ballance's addition.

⁵Lewis Bigelow came from Petersham, Mass., in 1835. He was lawyer, clerk of the circuit court and real-estate operator. He died Oct. 2, 1838.

⁶Isaac Underhill, native of Westchester County, N. Y., came to Peoria in 1833, and engaged in large business enterprises there and in St. Louis, Mo., and Marseilles, Ill. He was president of the Peoria & Bureau Valley Rail Road Company, first to run a train into Peoria; organized the Peoria Marine and Fire Insurance Company, and operated farms aggregating 2,200 acres in the vicinity of Rome, near Peoria. *Drown's Record* (1850) says he was called the "Pope of Rome." Underhill organized the Marseilles Bridge Company. He suffered severe financial losses late in life and removed to Texas, where he died.

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emption right which they say was granted to John L. Bogardus⁷ under the pre-emption law of 1832 and deeds from Bogardus to themselves and they have possession of three or four houses on the premises and I claimed to own the whole of it by virtue of a pre-emption [sic] granted to me under the law of 1834 and have possession of a garden & three houses Underhill some time ago threatened to tear down my garden fence but from assurances I gave him he became apprehensive there might be some danger in [sic] & hired George Depree⁸ a low-life bully to do it Depree undertook it three or four weeks ago when I was planting some things in the garden and I struck him lick with the hoe which proved sufficient to stop him On Monday last Underhill hired an Irishman to do it and armed him with a pistol he himself guarding the man with a gun As soon as I learned what was going on I went on the ground with a gun and two pistols On my arrival he cocked his gun and his man cocked his pistol I ordered the man to desist from tearing down the fence Underhill ordered him to proceed & raised his gun at that instant I fired my gun at Underhill and he fired his at me and his man Thompson drew his pistol but before he had time shoot I had fired a pistol at his head which made him retreat a short distance but suposing I had no other pistol he rallied with his pistol presented but seeing I was ready with another he retreated I then commenced reloading my gun upon which he approached me again with a cocked pistol but I kept him at bay with mine untill I had loaded my gun He then retreated and left the field Underhill having retreated before They then made complaint upon oath to a justice of the peace who after hearing their statements ordered me to enter into bonds which I did for my appearance at the next circuit court since which time my fence has remained unmolested During this day I was not only lame with the rheumatism but had also a large blister of catharides [?] on my ancle insomuch that I had to fight on crutches but what made the case worse I was otherwise quite unwell

⁷John L. Bogardus was born in New York in 1790, the brother of Gen. Robert Bogardus, sons of Lewis and Annie (Mills) Bogardus of Fishkill and New York. John L. came to Peoria not later than 1822. He was a lawyer but engaged in other lines, including operation of a ferry and a tavern. He made original entry of a fractional quarter section upon which the Peoria French claims were laid. This he conveyed to Bigelow and Underhill. Ballance in his *History of Peoria* says Bogardus was deprived of his property when under the influence of liquor. Bogardus was postmaster in President Jackson's administration. He died June 2, 1838.

⁸Builder of the first Peoria County jail, 1835.

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Extracted from my old records

Willis Ballance jn died 3rd May 1802

Joy Ballance died 23rd March 1804

Betsy Moran was born 3rd April 1785

Nancy Mitchell 20 September 1786

Ruth or Sally Hardy 24th July 1788

John Hardy 29 January 1792

Martha Hardy died 27 March 1814

William Reed 16th August 1823

Sally Hardy died 8th January 1823

Willis Ballance died 18th May 1824 Buried in 4th grave 1st range at
P. H. [Pleasant Hill, Ky.]

Betsy Moran died 23rd December 1824

In the month of June 1821 the locusts committed great ravages in Mercer county Kentucky by piercing the small twigs of all the forest and fruit trees to deposit their eggs therein

January 18th 1826 an ax flew out of the hands of Wm Virbiyke [?]
& cut a large gash in the side of my left leg

On the 14th day of March 1829 I removed from Pleasant Hill

June 16th 1829 I commenced reading law in the office of Terah T Haggin Esq. in Harrodsburg Ky

September 14th 1839 [1829?] I commenced keeping school in Lincoln county and boarded at Capt. R. Bryan's

April 26 1830 I removed from Lincoln County to Lawrenceburg Ky

August 16th 1826 I bored out two tubes and deposited in each the following kinds of seeds mixed with viz. Watermellon, Lettuce, Carrot, Albany Peas, Dutch Bunch Beans, Spinage Peppergrass Parsnip Drum-head Cabbage, Onion, White Beet, White Naples [?] Radish, Butter Beans, Celery, Moldavian Balm, Tomato, Teasle, Savory, Cayenne Pepper, Parsley, Prince's feather, Both tubes I buried precisely two feet under the surface eight feet South of a pear tree which stood West of the garden house This I did to prove how long seeds would remain underground without the vegetative principle being destroyed

Since what was said in May 1835 . . . many things have transpired worthy of note I and Underhill were both indicted for the acts there spoken of but I was acquitted by a jury upon full trial and Underhill

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was discharged by the state's attorney⁹ The title to the ground is not yet decided After several law suits being brought which resulted in nothing decisive a compromise was made in which among other things it was agreed that the land should be entered in the name of Bogardus and that Bigelow and Underhill his assignees should convey to me so much as three disinterested persons should say was just The arbitration was had and an award made in which the most of the ground was awarded to them but they were required to convey a portion to me which they never did but commenced three actions of ejectment for the premises all of which I have enjoined until the case can be heard in chancery

On the 24th day of March 1836 I was married to Julia Schnebly¹⁰ who had lately emigrated with her father's family from Washington county in the State of Maryland Some weeks after our marriage she received a fright which together with exposure to cold caused her an injury which greatly impaired her health and for a considerable time I was apprehensive she would never recover in which however I was agreeably disappointed and as one of the fruits of returning health she was delivered of a fine healthy daughter on the 25th day of November 1838

My health and that of my sister have been universally good since the first above mentioned date until last fall we both had the bilious fever as also Dr. Cromwell and Ann a black girl living with me In fact the last fall has been generally sickly

In the last day of August 1837 I started to Washington City on business concerning the land mentioned on the other page and was gone about two months though the time is not correctly recollected

I have been tolerably successful in pecuniary matters since I have been in this state though I have met with many losses but as a politician I have been unfortunate I have been a candidate for several offices and been beaten although I always run well I once came within twelve votes of being elected, once within nine and once tied the foremost man but recently there was an election for two justices of the peace and I

⁹Records, Peoria County Circuit Court: Ballance and Underhill both were indicted on charges of "assault with intent to commit murder," September, 1835. Ballance was acquitted by a jury, April, 1836. Indictment against Underhill was dismissed at the same term. Indictment for "assault" against Ballance also dismissed.

¹⁰Henry Schnebly, father of Julia M. Ballance, came from Hagarstown, Md., in 1835. A brick house he erected about 1850 is occupied by descendants, at 2600 Prospect road. Julia Ballance's recollections were printed in James M. Rice's *History of Peoria*, p. 59.

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was elected without my knowledge or consent over several others and have for a few days been acting under my new commission

This day mailed a letter to Dickinson Ruffner & Co Kanhawa Salines inclosing a dedimus potestatum

Recd and receipted for \$70 of Frink Trowbridge & Co. for two months ferriage of stage

On the 25th of November 1838 I had a daughter born which we named Virginia

May 9th 1840 My wife and child in company with several other ladies started on a visit to Hagarstown My business not permitting me to accompany her I and two other gentlemen employed a mulatto man to accompany them and take charge of their baggage &c By a letter which I recd. from her dated Hagarstown May 23rd it seems she arrived safely there on the 21st

August 15th 1840 I started to Hagarstown on board the steam boat Gypsey Arrived there before day on the 30th same month Found my wife and child well

Sept 8th Started home with my wife and child

January 18 1841 My wife was delivered of a daughter which we named Josephine. During the summer and fall of 1841 my wife was greatly afflicted with an affection of the liver. For a long time there was but little hopes of her recovery but her health towards spring became gradually established and now (October 28, 1842) she enjoys pretty good health I undertook last spring to build for myself a dwelling on my farm adjoining Peoria but soon after I was nominated by the whig party of this district for the state senate and being much engaged in politics my house was so far neglected that but little is done to it besides digging and walling up the cellar Nevertheless I lost my election being beaten by William W. Thompson¹¹ the only opposing candidate

January 11 1843 My wife had another daughter which have not yet named At the meeting of the legislature I went to Springfield leaving my family in pretty good health but on my return a few days before Christmas I found them all sick with the cold or influenza which

¹¹William W. Thompson was born Feb. 23, 1786, at Brimfield, Mass.; died Feb. 24, 1850, at Brimfield, Ill. Democrat; elected Illinois state senate, 1842; authored bill changing name of Charlestown to Brimfield; delegate to constitutional convention of 1848.

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then prevailed but before the above event occurred they had all got well but my wife

The following is a copy of a statement furnished by my family physician taken from a register kept by him

The Lady of Charles Ballance Esq of the city of Peoria
Had a daughter (Virginia) born Nov. 25 1838

Ditto (Josephine) " Jany. 18 1841

Ditto (Julia) " Dec. 11 1842

Ditto (Eliza) " June 26 1844

Ditto (Sarah) " February 21 1846

Died March 4 1846

a Son (Charles) March 23 1847

I know and certify that the above statement is true

R Rouse M. D.¹²

The above is right except the age of Julia. After careful examination and reflection my wife and I are both of the opinion that she was born one month later than as stated above

¹²Rudolphus Rouse was born July 20, 1793, in Rensselaer County, N. Y., and came to Peoria in 1832, the second medical practitioner in the county. First president of Peoria village board, 1835; first presiding officer, State Medical Society, Springfield, 1850; erected Rouse's opera house, 1857; died April 30, 1873.

TRANSPORTATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOLIET AND WILL COUNTY

By

FAYETTE B. SHAW

A local history may be of purely local or academic interest, yet if it contains features which are representative of similar histories of other places, it ceases to be simply local and holds a wider appeal. Such is the story of Joliet, Will County, Illinois. A city of between forty and fifty thousand people (or more, if only the city fathers could stretch the corporate limits to include the whole settled area), it is surrounded by four or five small towns, of which any one gave as much promise of a bright future when they were all very young, as the city. The explanation lies in the development of transportation, part of it fortuitous, part of it obvious in the scheme of things.

After the Revolution and the founding of the United States under the Constitution, the westward movement increased in volume, but it was not until after the War of 1812, impelled at first by the economic distress accompanying the resumption of peace time activities in Europe and America, that people began to move in hordes. Around the southern end of the Appalachians into western Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and eventually across the great river into Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas, went the Southerners. Others passed through the Cumberland Gap between Kentucky and Tennessee into the Old Southwest. Another way into this region led up the valleys of the streams like the Potomac which flowed eastward, to

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their headwaters, then across the mountains to Pittsburgh or Wheeling on the Ohio, where the travelers could load their belongings on flatboats and go with the current into the new regions. Meanwhile, people of the Old Southwest, joining forces with those who still came from the upland South, were crossing over to the north bank of the Ohio and spreading out into those parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, whose rivers flowed southward. The northern boundary of this advance was the National or Cumberland Road, which, begun in 1806 by the Federal Government, was built section by section westward from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois, the terminal reached in 1840. Along this road, bisecting the states which it crossed, and marking the separation of the northern from the southern influence, there passed a stream of humanity to their new homes in the West. Thus the approach to Illinois was from the south.¹

Within the state of Illinois, the tread of pioneers had already been heard in the lowlands and river bottoms of the southern portions by the year of statehood, 1818; and those who followed extended the area of settlement more thinly into the interior away from the streams. The population clustered in two column-like areas on opposite sides of the state, the one in the rich river bottoms of the Mississippi, the other in the neighborhood of the United States saline in Gallatin County and along the Ohio and Wabash rivers,—both dependent on these three watercourses for connection with the outside world. Away from the rivers was an unpopulated region where robbery, murder, and hair breadth escapes still threatened the venturesome traveler who preferred to cut across by road from Vincennes to Kaskaskia and St. Louis, rather than pole up the Mississippi. By 1830 population had greatly expanded. It still followed

¹E. C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life* (New York, 1932), 153-54.

the rivers, continuing up the Mississippi into Hancock County, up the Illinois as far as Peoria, up the Sangamon and east past the center of the state, north along the Kaskaskia in the southwest part, and, on the east side, north along the Wabash and the state boundary to the upper edge of Vermilion County, with the denser population along the lower reaches of the watercourses, where timber, water, and easy communication could be obtained, and the thinner, gradually spreading out into the interior and farther up the rivers and creeks. In the northwest corner of Illinois, in Jo Daviess County, where the Galena lead mines were already being worked, was an isolated settlement that fluctuated in numbers according to the fortunes of the mines and the changes of the seasons. Throughout the rest of the state, including a long finger-like area extending from Champaign County well into the south to Richland County, the country resembled a wilderness, with less than two persons to the square mile.²

At this time, New Orleans was the key city of the region. To it on the Mississippi system, home-made flatboats and stern-wheel steamers brought the produce of the West for transshipment by sea to Europe and the north Atlantic states of America,—wheat, flour, corn, oats, whiskey, beef, bacon, hams, pork, lard, potatoes, and apples. The up-stream traffic of coffee, sugar, molasses, and occasionally, bulky machinery, was less important. Clothes and fine manufactures came from the East by the inland routes, but the communities of southern Illinois looked to the South rather than to the East.³

By 1830 Peoria was a post on the frontier with Fort Clark to defend it. To the south lay the settled regions of the state, in parts of which the pioneer stage was already pass-

²T. C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (Springfield, Ill., 1918), 2-4; maps facing 174, 190.

³Kirkland, *American Economic Life*, 263, 269-70.

TRANSPORTATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOLIET

ing. To the north was a wilderness which was not totally unexplored, but contained few white men yet. In the northwest was the settlement of Galena; in the northeast was the village of Chicago at the mouth of the Chicago River, hardly more than a few houses around Fort Dearborn; in between were Indians and a few white traders. The Indians numbered about six thousand of the tribe of the Potawatomi, the remnants of the Ottawa.⁴

This sector of northern Illinois, however, felt the influence of the North far more than that of the South. While these changes were going on along the Ohio, others were taking place in the Northeast which were of much greater importance to the Northwest. New Englanders were pressing into western New York and parts of Ohio. Then in 1817 New York State began the building of the Erie Canal to connect the Hudson River at Albany with Lake Erie at Buffalo. Completed in 1825, this project brought immediate results. The costs of freighting were reduced, and travel to the West was made so much easier and quicker than heretofore that a tide of immigration began to flow at once into the Great Lakes basin. A mighty system of water transportation was created which equalled in importance that of the Mississippi and its tributaries. At the entrance to it, stood New York City, whose position of primacy on the Atlantic coast was now assured beyond doubt. The Hudson was an easy and beautiful highway to the interior to Albany and beyond, and the Erie Canal and branches formed the next link. On the Great Lakes the traveler could sail to Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin in comparative ease. To complete the system, the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois built canals which opened up the territory between the lakes and the Ohio and the Mississippi. The Ohio

⁴J. W. Putnam, *The Illinois and Michigan Canal* (Chicago, 1918), 93; G. H. Woodruff, *Fifty Years Ago* (Joliet, Ill., date not given, but written in 1870's), 19-20.

and Miami canals connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio River were opened for use in 1832 and 1843, respectively. In Indiana the Wabash Canal was intended to connect the Ohio at Evansville with Lake Erie at Toledo, but the opening was delayed until 1853, too late to be of much use. But the Illinois and Michigan Canal on which Joliet was located was opened between the Chicago River and the Illinois at Ottawa in 1848. As a result of these improvements, the Yankees and the newly arrived Europeans met in the openings and on the prairies of the Northwest the immigration which was slowly working northward from the Ohio.⁵

By 1830 it was evident that the tide of population was passing by the vacant lands of southern Illinois and was setting in towards the north.⁶ In 1830 the population of the region from Peoria to Wisconsin on the north and Indiana on the east was 1,310. By 1835 Cook and La Salle counties had been created along the line of the proposed canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois, Cook with a population of 9,826, and La Salle, 4,754. Between the western terminus of the proposed canal and Peoria were two counties, Putnam and Peoria, with a combined population of 7,241. The net gain in these five years along the line of the hoped-for waterway was 20,511. In the next five years the number rose to 46,451, and by 1850 had reached 125,708.⁷

The period of the settlement of northern Illinois in the decade of the thirties was characterized by a speculative mania in lands, mixed with a mania for internal improvements that was both cause and effect of growth. In towns already established, lots rose in price, while new towns were laid out and platted, and alluringly advertized in the East.⁸

⁵Kirkland, *American Economic Life*, 271-79, 281-82.

⁶Pease, *Frontier State*, 173.

⁷Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 96-97.

⁸Pease, *Frontier State*, 175-77.

TRANSPORTATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOLIET

It was in the northeast that records of land sales showed the highest prices and the most rampant speculation. In the years 1835-37 this was focussed at Chicago. The Galena and Chicago land offices were the latest to be opened in the state, yet in 1835 the Chicago office was surpassed only by that of Springfield in the acreage of land sales, and in 1836 only by those of Springfield and Edwardsville. Correspondingly, the effect of the panic of 1837 was felt most severely in the northeast. In 1837 and 1838, this office sold the least number of acres of any office in the state. By 1839 the stream of immigration had again set in strongly.⁹ Purchase money for the public lands at the Chicago land office for these years was as follows (from records in the Public Land Office in Washington) :

1835	\$505,847.04
1836	252,961.75
1837	19,522.90
1838	109,973.28
1839	200,811.73
1840	177,702.69
1841	188,779.64
1842	227,937.40
1843	286,829.00

Although Alton showed the steadiest commercial development during this decade, Chicago's rise was meteoric, and the most significant development in transportation between 1830 and 1840 was the establishment of a network of lines of communication radiating from the settlement around Fort Dearborn, which strengthened Chicago's position as a distributing point for merchandise brought by the Great Lakes route.¹⁰ The town was laid out in 1829 by the commissioners appointed under the state act of that year for the building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.¹¹

⁹*Ibid.*, 177. ¹⁰Pease, *Frontier State*, 177, 189-90.

¹¹Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 93.

Within four years, the population had reached 1,200; in 1840, 4,470; in 1845, 12,088; in 1850, 28,269, and in 1853, 60,652.¹² In 1831 goods were imported to St. Louis through Chicago at one-third less cost than by New Orleans. In 1834 weekly arrivals of steamers from Buffalo were advertised; in 1835 two hundred fifty-five sailing ships arrived in Chicago, increased in 1836 to three hundred eighty-three sailing vessels and forty-nine steamers. By 1839 a steamboat pool was dividing profits according to tonnage.¹³

Chicago's trade, however, was unbalanced, its imports from the East far exceeding its exports in the earlier years. As a distributing point the village was an important center of consumption and of distribution of local products. In the thirties, its tributary country had little or no surplus beyond the needs of the few settlers, and the older settlements along the Wabash were the first source of supply for the growing town. From this region came the Hoosiers, bringing in their wagons the food stuffs upon which the life of the new community depended. Then as population increased in northern Illinois, this region, at first unable to supply its own needs, gradually turned to commercial farming, joining with the Hoosiers in supplying the Chicago market. "Toward Chicago, from a radius of 200 miles around, poured—in seasons when the highways were passable—a steady stream of wagons laden with the produce of the countryside; wheat, corn, oats, beans, barley, lead from the Galena mines, and a variety of forest products, besides green and dried fruits from the Wabash. In addition, droves of cattle and hogs—the latter lean, long-limbed, and wild—wended their way by converging routes to their common doom in the slaughter yards of the incipient metropolis be-

¹²*Ibid.*, 96-7; *A Review of the Commerce of Chicago, Her Merchants and Manufacturers* (Chicago, 1855), 29.

¹³Pease, *Frontier State*, 190-91.

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side the sluggish Chicago."¹⁴ Of these commodities, wheat was easily the most important. On their return, the wagons carried coffee, salt, groceries, stoves, crockery, or other merchandise needed in the farmer's home or in the retail stock of the country storekeeper. In 1836 imports were valued at \$325,203.90 and exports at \$1,000.64. By 1847, however, the figures show that the hinterland was producing a surplus, for in that year imports were valued at \$2,641,852.52 and exports at \$2,296,299.00. Most of the traffic east of Chicago was carried on Lake Michigan, but to the westward, the lines of teams slowly making their way over the leading highways to a common center elicited the enthusiastic comments of observers.¹⁵

Coincident with the settlement of Illinois came a demand for transportation facilities. The first of these were wagon roads which followed established trade routes, with three of which Will County was particularly concerned. Like most of the great American thoroughfares, they were originally marked out by the Indians, if not by the buffalo. Long before white settlement, there had been an Indian trail extending from Green Bay southward around the head of Lake Michigan through Indiana and Michigan to Detroit. Where this trail crossed the St. Joseph River not far from the modern city of Niles, Michigan, numerous important trails from north and south focused. Another, known in later years as the Sauk or Sac Trail, extended from the Mississippi eastward across Illinois and joined the trail from Chicago where it rounded the head of the lake. For generations the Indians had trooped in single file on missions of war and peace between the Mississippi and Detroit until they had beaten a narrow pathway in the soil. The French

¹⁴M. M. Quaife, *Chicago's Highways Old and New* (Chicago, 1923), 141.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 66-7, 138-41; *Chicago Democrat*, Mar. 4, 1834, June 3, 1835, June 1, 1836, Aug. 24, 1842, Aug. 10, 1847; *Chicago American*, Oct. 3, 1835; *Daily Chicago American*, Sept. 9, 1839.

followed in their footsteps, and after them came the settlers. When the trail between Detroit and Chicago became a military highway under the United States Government about 1821, it came to be known as the Chicago Road, and its gradual transformation into a highway for civilized travel began when the government survey was commenced in 1825. The road was sinuous, for the Indians never bothered to remove an obstacle when they could go around it, and the survey followed its every curve. It was not until 1832 that this survey was completed to western Michigan, but stage service had already begun from Detroit and extended now to Niles. From Niles the trail passed into Indiana and across Door Prairie to La Porte, thence to Michigan City and along the shore to Chicago.¹⁶

At La Porte the Sac Trail branched off in a westerly direction, entering Will County along the course of Hickory Creek, which it followed to the eastern edge of the present city. Here it divided, one line following the creek to the Des Plaines River, which it crossed and followed south and west, the other branching off and crossing the Des Plaines above the first line, thence leading westward to Walker's Grove, south of the present site of Plainfield. Along this Sac Trail came the overland travelers from Detroit and points east, prominent among whom were the Yankees from New England and New York.¹⁷

Another important route which passed through Will County was the Vincennes Trace. Between the Ohio and the Wabash were many Indian trails, while the Wabash itself was an artery of trade. At Vincennes, the focal point of many such trails, began the road which led northward through eastern Illinois to the salt springs on the Vermilion where Danville has grown up, thence in general along the

¹⁶Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, Ch. II.

¹⁷George H. Woodruff and others, *The History of Will County* (Chicago, 1878), 249-50, 277-78, *passim*; William Grinton, *Juliet and Joliet* (Joliet, 1904), 52.

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boundary line between the states to Chicago. For many years it was known as the Hubbard Trace because it came to be so closely identified with Gurdon S. Hubbard. As superintendent of the Illinois fur trade for John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, Hubbard for several years after 1823 carried the furs from his many trading stations along the Wabash and this trail to Chicago for shipment to Mackinac Island and the East. Then in 1834 the legislature of Illinois laid out a state road which followed this trail, which became known as the State Road and gave the name of State Street to a prominent street in Chicago. It was along the Vincennes Trace that the Hoosiers came to Chicago with their produce, and with them a stream of immigrants pouring from Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana south of the Wabash, into the new lands of northern Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, thus giving the State Road national importance.¹⁸

A third route was the road from Chicago to Ottawa and southwest. Its first white travelers had been the explorers Joliet and Marquette in 1673, and in 1698 another Frenchman, De Cosmé, had given the name of Monjolly, later Mound Joliet, to the most distinctive feature of the landscape along the Des Plaines. This highway enjoyed particular importance on two accounts: first, it was the avenue of communication between the older settlements of southern Illinois and Chicago; when, after 1840 the trade with the East by way of the Great Lakes became more important, it was the favorite highway between the East and the lower Mississippi. Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory condition of the Chicago portage, the fur traders had clung to the Des Plaines River, equipped as they were for water transport only. But with the coming of the white settlers, less unsatisfactory means had to be provided. In 1831 the newly organ-

¹⁸Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, Ch. III.

ized board of commissioners of Cook County laid out two roads, one of which followed the present State Street and Archer Avenue in Chicago to the house of Widow Brown on Hickory Creek. The other followed what are now Madison Street and Ogden Avenue to the house of Barney Lawton on the Des Plaines twelve miles from Chicago, where now stands Riverside, thence passed in nearly a straight line to Walker's Grove, following an old Indian trail between Chicago and the Illinois where now Ottawa stands. Besides this direct route there were two others between Chicago and Ottawa which attracted heavy travel. One of these went by way of Naperville, Oswego, and Yorkville, to the west of Will County. The other followed the Des Plaines through Lockport and Juliet and was several miles longer than the direct route.¹⁹

These roads, though government highways, were little better than wagon tracks designated as public thoroughfares, badly rutted or so deep in mud as to defy passage. Better means must be provided. Beginning with the French explorations along the Illinois in the seventeenth century, the possibility of an all-water route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi had been discussed. The Des Plaines rises near the northern boundary of Illinois and flows southward roughly parallel to the shore of Lake Michigan only a few miles away. Between the river and the lake is a low continental divide which separates the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system from that of the Mississippi. Between the south branch of the Chicago River and the Des Plaines there used to be an area which was swampy in wet weather, in the middle of which was Mud Lake, which ordinarily drained into the Chicago River but sometimes into the Des Plaines too. During the spring floods lasting fifteen or twenty days, the Des Plaines overflowed its banks, and the area between

¹⁹Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, Ch. IV; O. H. Marshall, "Papers on the Past," in a scrap book belonging to Dr. H. W. Woodruff, Joliet.

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this stream and the south branch was covered by two feet of water. At such times the canoes and small boats of the traders could make the journey from Lake Michigan to the Des Plaines and the Illinois without interruption. The portage, that is, the distance which boats and cargoes must be carried over dry land, amounted to nothing at such times. But the Des Plaines was subject to great fluctuations in the volume of its flow. In late summer and autumn it might be little better than a series of pools, and it exhibited conditions of every gradation between these extremes. At its best it was unsatisfactory, for the spring torrents made ascent against its current difficult, and at other times of the year no reliance could be placed upon it. Sometimes the Chicago portage amounted to nothing at all, sometimes to only a couple of miles, at other times the distance between the Des Plaines and the south branch, at still other times to the fifty miles between the south branch and Mount Joliet or the confluence of the Kankakee and the Des Plaines, and even to over one hundred miles. But for all its disadvantages, this route, though avoided by some, was followed, and the portage made, if need be with the aid of horses owned by Indians and traders, in the days before settlers came to Will County to live.²⁰

The War of 1812 had emphasized the need of better means of carriage, and it was probably in view of military requirements that the United States Government signed a treaty with the Indians in 1816, by which the latter ceded to the government the land in a narrow strip extending from Lake Michigan to the Illinois. Within this strip was included a large part of what is now Will County, the so-called Indian Boundary Lines cutting off the northwest and southeast corners of the county. In 1822 Congress authorized the state of Illinois to build a canal through the national domain.

²⁰Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913), Ch. I.

This did not solve the problem, however, of financing the project on the basis of the sparse population the state then had; hence, it was not until 1825 that further steps were taken. In that year the Illinois and Michigan Canal Company was incorporated with a capital stock of one million dollars, with authority to go ahead with the work. But congressional aid was still desired, and this act was repealed. In 1827 Congress donated to the state alternate sections of land for five miles on either side of the proposed line in aid of construction. In 1829 a canal commission was created to carry the work to completion, but the only result accomplished was the laying out of Ottawa on the Illinois and Chicago around the confluence of the two branches of the Chicago River, and the sale of some lots and lands.²¹

Meanwhile the need for the improvement was becoming greater. The scattered and growing settlements between Chicago and the Illinois River depended on transportation for the sale of their produce and the purchase of manufactures. A canal would give them better access to a market for their produce and would reduce the cost of imported goods, thereby increasing rents and property values. But it would have more than local influence. Any settlement on or near a navigable stream could receive its imports from the East by way of the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, and in the same way could get its produce out. The speculative land sales of 1834-37 may be regarded as the determining factor in the adoption of the internal improvements project on which the state embarked. In 1835 and 1836 a new commission, the third one, was established, and work was formally begun on the Summit level at Summit on July 4, 1836. The Illinois and Michigan Canal was not the only undertaking begun at this time. The other parts of the state demanded improved transportation as well, and the concerted demand led to the

²¹*History of Will County*, 296-99; Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, Ch. I.

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adoption of a program, the ill success of which might have been predicted from the first, conceived as it was in an atmosphere of logrolling and bargaining with little regard for existing or probable future lines of trade, and begun under a provision requiring simultaneous commencement of all the railroads planned, thus preventing concentration on any one work. The panic of 1837 and the ensuing depression threw the grand scheme into the discard and left the state burdened with a heavy debt and in an attitude of mind favorable to repudiation. However, in these straits the canal was the only hope, for by means of that population could be increased and the debt spread over a wider base. Therefore this work was continued by money raised on various make-shifts until 1841, when the treasury was completely empty and there were no prospects for more funds. In 1843 the whole property and its prospective earnings was signed over to three trustees, two representing the holders of canal bonds and one representing the state, who assumed their trust in 1845 and resumed construction. In April 1848 the canal was opened for navigation from end to end, Chicago to Peru, and one ambition of the West was realized.²²

Having now sketched briefly the general lines, routes, and facilities of the migration of people into the Middle West, and in somewhat more detail the situation in northeastern Illinois as it was when white settlers first came, we may now survey in still more detail the influences which transportation had within Will County and see how Joliet's supremacy in that area was probably determined.

The area considered here is one of rolling prairie, much of it treeless, some of it covered with groves of hard and soft woods, principally, but not exclusively, along the water-courses. The Des Plaines flows southward through much of the distance of its course through the county, but turns in a

²²Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, Chs. I, II; Pease, *Frontier State*, 188, 216-17; *History of Will County*, 298-301; *Joliet Signal*, Apr. 11, 1848.

long sweeping curve to the west as it leaves. The Kankakee River flows northwestward across the corner of the county and just outside of it unites with the Des Plaines at Dresden to form the Illinois River. Lesser streams drain into these two, but the most important historically of these are the Hickory Creek which rises near the border between Illinois and Indiana and flows westward to join the Des Plaines at Joliet, and the Du Page, which on the west side of the county flows southward into the Des Plaines at Channahon below Joliet. Into this wilderness in 1826 came "Father" Jesse Walker, a Methodist missionary among the Indians. His first appearance was temporary, but he returned and settled in 1829 in the timber south of the site of Plainfield, to which he gave the name of Walker's Grove; and here, aided by his family, he built a home and a gristmill on the Du Page and ministered to the Indians. In the same year, on the other side of the county in the Hickory Creek timber, three men were known to be living. This was the beginning of permanent settlement by the white race in Will County.²³

From the first, certain characteristics of settlement appeared. Wood was necessary for building houses and fences and for fuel, and water had to be found easily in sufficient quantities for men and live stock. Since the forests grew chiefly along the watercourses, the earliest arrivals established themselves in the woods close to the streams. Most of the people came from the eastern part of the United States, where they had had to fell trees to carve out their homesteads, and to do it here seemed the natural course. But the negative aspects of the prairies likewise drove them to the timber. In the first place, if the prairies supported grass in abundance but only a few trees, what reason was there to suppose that their soil was fertile? In the second place, after its fertility had been established, it was a matter of consid-

²³*History of Will County*, 233-36, 246, 495.

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erable difficulty to break it for planting; the plows commonly used in the East could not penetrate the hard-packed soil matted with roots. In the third place, there was no protection for man or beast against the bitter winter winds. Finally, the sloughs harbored mosquitoes, the unsuspected carriers of malaria. But this prejudice against the prairie was being overcome by the middle of the forties. As the process of settlement continued, the supposedly best lands were taken up, and little by little, the population spread out away from the woods farther into the open.²⁴ In the woodlands the rude shelters of the pioneer farmers were going up, first as log cabins, and very soon as frame houses, and the flower-strewn prairie became dotted with small patches of land under cultivation, which increased in size and number as time progressed.

As the eighteen forties wore on, some of these little centers of settlement showed more progress. The panic of 1837 and the six or seven years of depression which followed extinguished many an incipient metropolis, such as Dresden and the first Kankakee, but a few survived in the face of adverse circumstances. Of these Plainfield was the first. In 1834, five years after the arrival of Father Walker, the village plat of Plainfield was recorded in the county archives. The original factor in its existence was the presence of water power at that point in the Du Page. Around the sawmill and gristmill there were grouped in 1835 a blacksmith shop, a tailor shop, a wagon shop, two taverns, for this was on the Ottawa Road, and perhaps a couple of other houses. Water power was available at a number of places on the river, yet of all these Plainfield became the most important, due probably to the highway.²⁵

²⁴*History of Will County*, 269, 537, 553-55, 585; C. C. P. Holden, "Early Chicago," in Dr. Harry W. Woodruff's Scrap Book 29-33; August Maue, *History of Will County* (Indianapolis, 1927), 303; *History of Will County*, 526.

²⁵*History of Will County*, 235-36; 238, 483; *Will County Records*, Vol. 1, pp. 52-53.

Next in point of time was Juliet. In 1833 Charles Reed started to build a dam and mill, after having provided himself with a log cabin, but in March, 1834, James McKee laid a float (a right to enter and claim any vacant land belonging to the state) on this quarter section, and bought out Reed's claim and improvements. McKee expanded Reed's plans, and in the fall of 1834 the heavy oak frame of the mill was raised. On the other side of the Des Plaines, James B. Campbell laid another float and laid out Juliet, entering the plat on the county records in June, 1834. In the following January, Martin H. Demmond presented West Juliet to the world. It is not difficult to conjecture what made this location attractive. In the river there were possibilities of water power, and at this point the Sac Trail crossed the route of the Chicago portage.²⁶ In the prosperous times before 1837 Juliet thrived. On both sides of the Des Plaines wooden and stone buildings were built and people kept coming from the East. By 1837 the new citizens felt that they could afford a village government, and they voted unanimously, seventy-eight votes, in favor of it. The first and chief task of the first board of trustees was the erection of bridges to make the transit of the river easier than was possible with the foot-bridges and skiffs to which the citizenry had become accustomed, for which scrip bearing interest at twelve per cent was issued. But the spring floods took out the bridges, the depression brought an ignominious end to the scrip, and village taxes became burdensome; so the act of incorporation was repealed in 1841.²⁷ In 1845, the name of the town was changed from Juliet to Joliet,²⁸ leaving the town of Romeo, up the river a few miles, lorn and lonesome after his erstwhile lover had vanished.

Two other towns of importance in the county began their

²⁶*History of Will County*, 249, 251-52, 272-79.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 281-82, 315-16, 398-99; Woodruff, *Fifty Years Ago*, 28-29, 33-34, 83.

²⁸*History of Will County*, 274, 380.

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careers at this time. Thomas Cox, an early settler in Juliet, went south to the Kankakee River and laid out Winchester in 1836, where he built a sawmill and some other mills; and, as in the case of Plainfield, a community grew up around them.²⁹ This settlement soon was renamed Wilmington, the name which it bears today.

The other and last was Lockport. West Lockport was laid out by a company of men who built a mill on that side of the river, but Lockport proper was founded by the trustees of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1837. Here they established their headquarters, because on the original "deep cut" plan, by which the water for the canal was to be taken directly from Lake Michigan, the lake level would run out at this place, and the first lock would be located here. As in the case of the other towns, water power was also a magnet which drew the settlers. Of all the towns, however, Lockport at that time was the most promising. It had the advantage of official recognition, and it attracted capable men who had contracts for the construction of the canal. Years later, even, the wealthiest men of the county were residents of Lockport.³⁰

As population increased, improvements were made in the means of carriage of goods and persons; and in these Joliet shared, at first enjoying them along with the other growing communities of the county, later having advantages not shared by the latter. The commerce of the prairies was carried in wagons and stagecoaches which jolted over the highways. The carrying trade was dominated first by the Hoosier wagon, which had originated in Pennsylvania in the middle of the eighteenth century, and had become known there as the Conestoga. Developed in the hill country by a Germanic population, it was massive in construction with

²⁹*Ibid.*, 267-69.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 259-60; *Will County Directory for 1859-60*, 65-66; *Joliet Republican*, July 27, 1867.

wide wheels and hubs and a body which had a decided curve in the bottom to prevent the shifting of the load on the hills. A white canvas cover was stretched over bows, which projected outward at an angle of forty-five degrees at front and rear. It was drawn by four or six heavy draft horses, equipped with massive harnesses, which were often extravagantly decorated. The teamster guided the team with one rein. This was the type of wagon which the Hoosiers from the Wabash employed to bring their produce from Chicago. As the Yankee migration increased in numbers, however, a new type of wagon appeared in northeastern Illinois. The Yankee wagon was a narrow-tread, long-coupled, low-boxed, two-horse affair, provided with a seat, from which the driver guided with two lines a pair of lightly-harnessed horses. Here on the prairies the narrow tread met the broad, and a struggle for supremacy ensued, which resulted in the triumph of the former, symbolic of the forces which were transforming Illinois from a Southern to a Northern state.³¹

The Middle West seems not to have developed a class of professional teamsters, yet there were traces of such a development. The drivers along the Chicago-Bloomington route were regarded as a tough set, who helped themselves to corn and other provisions along the way, and liked to crowd stagecoaches off the road.³² In 1836 a company was formed for the transportation of goods from Chicago to the Mississippi, which proposed to operate a line of wagons from Chicago to the Kankakee River, where the goods would be transshipped to boats. Whether the wagons came through Joliet is not known. They might have followed the Des Plaines valley or the Vincennes Trace to the Kankakee well above Wilmington. What was probably a separate

³¹Quaife, M. M., *Chicago's Highways*, 141-44.

³²*Ibid.*, 148.

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service, but not certainly, was operated by Kinzie, Hunter & Co. and Hubbard & Co. jointly, owners of the Chicago and Illinois Transportation Line, between Chicago and Peoria by way of Utica.³³ Thus it was evident that there was some professional teaming in this region.

For the accomodation of the traveling public the stage-coach was used. The coach passed through a period of evolution lasting about seventy-five years, culminating about 1830 in the Concord coach. It derived its name from Concord, New Hampshire, where many of its type were made. In the generation after 1830 these vehicles found their way into every part of the civilized world, wherever advancing civilization pushed its way.³⁴

The body was oval, but flattened on top to permit the carriage of baggage. Within were three cross seats, each designed to hold three passengers. Those on the front faced the rear, the others toward the front of the coach. The driver sat on the elevated seat in front of the body, while at the rear was a triangular, leather-covered space known as the "boot," wherein such baggage was bestowed as did not ride on top. The enclosed body was supported by heavy "thoroughbraces," made of numerous strips of leather riveted together. By this device, instead of the constant bumping which had attended the traveler in the older stage wagon, the passenger was subjected to a succession of oscillations whose violence was directly proportioned to the roughness of the road. The coach body was brightly painted in shades of green, yellow, or red, and the panels were decorated with paintings of landscapes, or of noted historical characters. The interiors, too, were attractively painted and upholstered, while the individual coach bore the name of some noted statesman or other character.³⁵

Gorgeous as this equipage was, travel was not an uninterrupted delight, for, set high upon springs as it was, overturnings were frequent,³⁶ to mention only one of the inconveniences.

³³*Chicago American*, Jan. 2, June 11, 1836.

³⁴Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, 154-55.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 155-56.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 79-81.

Behind the stagecoach was a business organization. In 1833 the first through service between Detroit and Chicago was inaugurated, and on the first of January, 1834, the first coach ever to run west of Chicago started toward Ottawa. This stage line then was owned by Dr. John L. Temple, who operated a carriage which had come from New York by way of Buffalo and the Great Lakes.³⁷ In 1836 this line was bought out by the firm of Frink and Walker, who towered above all competitors in the Chicago area and enjoyed for years a practical monopoly of passenger transportation over a large portion of the Middle West. Hand in hand with coaching went the carriage of the United States mails. Indeed the government commonly pioneered the way for the stage lines by first establishing post routes through newly-settled areas and then letting contracts for the carriage of mails over them. Juliet's first mail service came on horseback from Danville over the Vincennes Trace, but when the stage started to operate over the Ottawa route, the mail came from Chicago to Plainfield, where the postmaster went to meet it, until the route was changed about 1837 to include Joliet directly.³⁸ The partnership of Frink and Walker, of which John Frink was the dominant member, was singularly successful in securing such contracts, and in the absence of other data, these afford an index to the activities of the company. About 1850, when the firm was at the height of its career, its contracts amounted to about \$150,000 annually, and its services extended into Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan, besides those in Illinois.³⁹

A display advertisement in a Chicago newspaper in 1842 describes the service to St. Louis. "Fare Reduced, Chicago to St. Louis. Only \$12, tickets given through. Post-Coach and Steam-Boat Line—through three days, and no delay on

³⁷Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, 76.

³⁸*History of Will County*, 283.

³⁹Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, 157-58.

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the route. Daily line of steam-boats on the Illinois river, to and from St. Louis, in connection with the mail packet, Frontier. Apply at the General Stage Office, 123, Lake street, Chicago, where stages leave for all parts of Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, Iowa, and Wisconsin, where seats may be secured. Frink, Walker & Co., Agents and Proprietors."⁴⁰ In another advertisement the same year we learn that Frink and Walker had a stage service from Springfield to Chicago by way of Peoria, Peru, Ottawa, Juliet, and Lockport, by which the traveler could go from one terminus to the other in three days without riding nights. These coaches were Troy-built, similar in type to the ConCORDS.⁴¹ Schedules, however, were not rigidly adhered to, for roads were poor, many streams had to be forded where bridges were not built, and weather conditions made for great irregularity in the observance of schedules.⁴²

There was no through service under one management between East and West, yet the different agencies which engaged in the transport of passengers and freight took cognizance of connecting facilities, and tried to provide for coördinated services. Thus the New York and Ohio Line, providing day and night services on the Erie and Ohio canals, advertised that its boats made connections with steamers on Lakes Huron and Michigan, which in turn connected with the regular line of wagons between Chicago and the Illinois River; and other eastern companies mentioned similar connections in the West.⁴³

To accomodate travelers there were many inns and tavern stands at intervals of twenty to twenty-five miles. Sometimes these were private residences which made a practice of taking in travelers for the night and providing stable

⁴⁰*Chicago Democrat*, Aug. 24, 1842.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1842.

⁴²Quaife, *Op. cit.*, 162-67.

⁴³*Chicago American*, Mar. 12, 19, June 11, 1836, *et al.*

room and fodder for the horses; others were commercial taverns, but the distinction between the two types was not sharp. Typically the tavern was a two-story affair, with a sitting room which was also a barroom for the men, and a dining room and kitchen downstairs. The upper story was sometimes divided into two rooms, often left in one, with beds along the sides. Once in a while a curtain would be drawn across one end to afford privacy to the ladies, but this was not always done. Taverns varied widely in the character of their accommodations, but they were best known by the quality of the food they served. Teamsters and drovers who were unfamiliar with the inns along the route would look for a well-trampled corral and a fat dog as indications of popularity and good food.⁴⁴

A traveler passing through Juliet in 1839 observed that the business district, including a spacious stone tavern, was on the west side of the Des Plaines, while the jail, post office, and the principal taverns were on the east side. He recommended Blackstone's Exchange, the stage house, as the best public house in the place.⁴⁵ His judgment on that point did not coincide with local opinion, however. The spacious stone tavern referred to was the National Hotel, built in 1837, which was acknowledged as the only first-class hotel as late as 1871,⁴⁶—a building still used as a hotel under that name. During the summer the teamsters usually camped out, taking with them enough food for themselves and fodder for their horses or oxen, and assembling around a camp fire at night, if they traveled in groups. In winter they went to the inns for protection, but as time passed, the inns were resorted to more and more throughout the year. Here were to be found companionship and jollity and drinks to relieve

⁴⁴C. Cleaver, *Early Chicago Reminiscences* (Chicago, 1882), 16-18; Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, 168-73.

⁴⁵*Daily Chicago American*, July 23, 1839.

⁴⁶Hopkins Rowell, *The Great Resources, and Superior Advantages of the City of Joliet, Illinois* (Joliet, 1871), 26.

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the isolation of the frontier.⁴⁷ Rates were ridiculously cheap, with lodgings costing a shilling or 12½ cents per night.⁴⁸

About the middle of the century an attempt was made to improve the roads which carried the commerce of the prairies, but the results were of little value. For a few years the plank road was advocated with enthusiasm amounting to mania. In February, 1849, the state legislature passed a law for the construction of plank roads, and about the same time, incorporated the Oswego and Indiana Plank Road Company. Under the terms of this act, the capital stock was to amount to \$100,000, of which subscription in the amount of \$20,000 permitted the election of five directors. The road was to be built from Oswego in Kendall County (adjoining Will on the west) through Plainfield and Joliet to the boundary line between Illinois and Indiana. The right of eminent domain was accorded the company, and a significant provision, of which use was later made, permitted the construction of a railroad over any part or all of the line.⁴⁹ Delays ensued, however, and before the company was organized, books were opened for subscriptions in a company incorporated under a general law to build a line from Momence north to the line between Will and Cook counties east of Joliet.⁵⁰ This action elicited from a correspondent of the *Signal* a letter urging the people of Joliet to wake up to their opportunities. The people of the Kankakee country had long wanted a river outlet, but this would be long in coming; now this Momence road would afford an outlet for them, which they would take, unless the Joliet road could be built first to tap this territory.⁵¹ Already a

⁴⁷Quaife, *Op. cit.*, 146-49.

⁴⁸*County Commissioners' Court Records*, A, 21.

⁴⁹*Signal*, Feb. 20, Mar. 20, 1849.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1850.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, Apr. 2, 1850.

branch line from Joliet to the Kankakee, to be built by the Oswego company, had been considered.⁵²

Finally, in the spring of 1851, the Oswego and Indiana Plank Road Company was organized, with Joliet business men in most of the executive positions, and it was resolved that the road should be surveyed from Oswego to the Indiana line, that the terminal should be the point of intersection of the Buffalo and Mississippi (a projected railroad) with the state line, that a railroad should be constructed between the Indiana line and the place where the road should cross the Chicago and Rock Island (then in prospect, but not built), and that a plank road should be built between Joliet and Plainfield.⁵³ Surveys were completed in May, 1851, the right of way was obtained, by order of the board of supervisors, between Joliet and Plainfield and Joliet and the Kankakee, the work of construction was carried on during 1851 and 1852, and the road was completed to Plainfield in 1852 or 1853.⁵⁴ Work on the Kankakee branch started in 1852 or 1853, but the branch ended on the prairie a few miles south of Joliet, and was never completed to the river.⁵⁵ In 1854, arrangements were completed for extension to the eastward of Joliet, and condemnation proceedings were started for the right of way;⁵⁶ but this line became a railroad, the importance of which, as will be seen later, outweighed anything that the company had previously accomplished or hoped to do. Meanwhile, in September, 1851, the board of supervisors granted right of way over the public highways between Lockport and Plainfield and westward to the county line (the latter part only by and with the con-

⁵²*Signal*, Mar. 12, 26, 1850.

⁵³*Ibid.*, Mar. 11, June 3, 1851.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, May 13, 20, June 3, 24, July 22, Aug. 5, 26, Nov. 4, 1851, Aug. 17, 1852; *County Commissioners' Court Records*, C, 395-400; notice of completion of line to Plainfield either escape me or was in missing issue.

⁵⁵*Signal*, Aug. 17, 1852, May 17, 1853; Mr. William Adam; *History of Will County*, 341.

⁵⁶*Signal*, Feb. 7, May 16, 1854.

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sent of the Oswego company) to the Lockport, Plainfield, and Yorkville Plank Road Company. This company, promoted by leading business men of Lockport in an effort to increase the territory tributary to that village, built a road to Plainfield, thus attempting to meet the challenge of Joliet, toward which the Rock Island was already progressing.⁵⁷

The first operation in building a plank road was the grading and leveling of a roadbed of dirt, about twenty-one feet wide, with ditches on both sides. Then stringers were laid lengthwise on this bed, about six feet apart, with the dirt packed firmly around them, and planks were laid crosswise on the stringers, making a road about eight feet wide. Estimates about the durability of such a road, provided it was kept in repair, varied from seven to fifteen years.⁵⁸ Interest in this kind of a highway was general about 1850, and enthusiasm ran high, with frequent plank road meetings, and with the formation of many corporations, the stock of which was readily subscribed. Tolls to be paid by the users at the tollgates were expected to yield a liberal return on the investment. Plank roads were regarded as much more useful to farmers than the railroads, and were sometimes referred to as farmers' railroads. It was believed that the road would be available throughout the year, and because of the solidity of the bed, it was estimated that the farmer could haul three times the load in one-half the time, as compared with the ordinary roads.⁵⁹ There were disadvantages, however. Under the weight of the horses and wagon the planks would suddenly sag, and the mud and slush underneath would shoot up through the cracks and plaster horses, wagon, and occupants alike. Then when one team met another and had to turn out, it was difficult to get back on the planks. On the whole the projects were not the success that was an-

⁵⁷*Signal*, Sept. 23, 30, 1851; *History of Will County*, 341.

⁵⁸*Signal*, May 1, 1849.

⁵⁹*Signal*, Mar. 20, June 19, 1849, Feb. 12, 19, 26, 1850, July 1, 1851.

ticipated; not maintained well, they became obsolete, and gradually fell into disuse.⁶⁰

More important than the plank roads was the Illinois and Michigan Canal which was opened in April, 1848.⁶¹ St. Louis, Peoria, and Chicago were directly affected, but of the three, St. Louis was the only one adversely affected, and that only in a limited field. "Before the opening of the canal, the Illinois River trade was tributary to St. Louis. After the opening of the canal, most of it became tributary to Chicago. For Southern products, St. Louis still held the territory, but the merchandise came principally through the canal and the products of the region largely sought the Chicago market. . . . Henceforth, St. Louis could hope to draw the major part of the grain from the Illinois River only when temporary market conditions should chance to give that market an advantage in price. The freight rates from the Illinois River to the eastern cities by way of Chicago and Buffalo were lower than those by way of St. Louis and New Orleans. Consequently the grain from that region intended for the Atlantic seaboard cities or for foreign export normally sought the northern route. St. Louis was compensated for this loss, however, by an enlargement of her mercantile interests. The wholesale grocers found new markets for sugar, coffee, tobacco, and other products of the lower Mississippi trade. Eastern merchandise for which St. Louis was the distributing point for the rapidly developing regions west of the Mississippi, could be obtained more expeditiously and cheaply by way of the canal than by way of New Orleans. . . . This growth of trade was not wholly due to the opening of the Illinois and Michigan Canal but was greatly facilitated by it."⁶²

Peoria was checked in its growth by the cholera epidemic

⁶⁰Mr. August Maue; *History of Will County*, 341.

⁶¹*Signal*, Apr. 4, 11, 1848.

⁶²Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 102-103.

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of 1849-50, yet the population increased from 3,014 in 1847 to 6,202 at the close of 1850. Building operations were greatly facilitated by the cheapening of lumber, for the opening of the canal gave access to the northern regions, which could supply the Illinois River territory much more cheaply than the Pittsburgh and St. Louis markets. By 1850, also, importations of merchandise, lumber, and other commodities had quadrupled since 1847, while river and canal traffic had reflected the increase in exports and imports.⁶³

Chicago's remarkable growth during the twelve years of construction of the canal was far surpassed during the first six years of operation.

The economic development of the country tributary to the city necessarily increased its imports and exports which led in turn to an increase in the population and wealth of the city itself. The population of the four canal counties which had increased from a few hundred in 1830 to 29,716 in 1840 and 80,926 in 1850, more than doubled in the next five years, reaching 171,012 in 1855. Almost an equal gain was made by the river counties from La Salle to the mouth of the Sangamon. From 40,536 in 1840, their population rose to 90,961 in 1850 and 128,462 in 1855. It is thus seen that the population along the waterway from Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Sangamon River increased from 70,252 in 1840 to 171,887 in 1850 and 299,474 in 1855. But the growth of population was not confined to the counties immediately touching the canal and the upper course of the Illinois River. As the better tracts of land in these counties were taken up, settlements continually spread further back in the unoccupied sections. By 1855 more than half the population of the state was to be found north of the Sangamon River, and the most densely populated counties lay in the region of the waterway. During the first period of canal operation, from 1848 to 1854 the population of the city of Chicago advanced from 20,035 to 74,500. But the enlargement of commerce more than kept pace with the growth in population. The grain exports grew from 3,001,740 bushels to 13,132,501 bushels, the shipment of corn alone increasing from 550,460 bushels to 6,837,890 bushels. By 1851 the Chicago exports had reached \$5,395,471 and the imports, \$24,410,400. The heavy preponderance of imports over exports is accounted for chiefly by the fact that a large proportion of

⁶³Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 104-105.

the imports passed through the canal to the regions whose products found their way to other markets. Large quantities of ready made clothing, hats, boots, and shoes, and other manufactured products intended for the St. Louis market were imported through Chicago and were carried by canal and river to St. Louis from which city they were distributed to the newer portions of the West.⁶⁴

Within Will County changes other than the continued influx of population occurred. Chicago remained, as it is today, the commercial center of the area, but the lines of local commerce were redrawn, to concentrate in several points on the canal from those regions to which the waterway was more convenient than the overland drive to Chicago. The rivalry between Joliet and Lockport, already active and growing villages, was intensified.⁶⁵ On the other side of Joliet, near the confluence of the Du Page and the Des Plaines, the village of Channahon was platted in 1845 along the banks of the canal, where it was expected to enjoy cheap transportation and water power.⁶⁶

Wilmington, situated on the Kankakee at a place where water power was available, determined to share in the commerce of the waterway. In February, 1847, the state legislature passed an act for the improvement of the Kankakee and Iroquois rivers from the point where the Kankakee feeder for the canal took water from the Kankakee below Wilmington, to the Indiana line. A company was to be formed with the right to construct locks, dams, canals, towpaths, and all appurtenances, to use the water power, and to erect mills and buildings, and to hold land. The state reserved the right to assume control after twenty years after organization, upon paying the cost of improvements and interest at six per cent.⁶⁷ The Kankakee and Iroquois Manufacturing Company duly advertised the opening of subscrip-

⁶⁴Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 106-108.

⁶⁵*History of Will County*, 317.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 597.

⁶⁷*Signal*, Feb. 16, 1847.

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tion books in April, 1847; in June the company was organized upon the subscription of a sufficient amount of stock and by December three locks and the dams for the first of them were under contract. But the work seemed to lag—popular support was lacking about 1850, probably because of the rising interest in railroads, at a time when the Illinois Central project was before the people of Illinois, and every village hoped to be on the line. In 1851 the legislature authorized the townships directly affected by the improvement to tax themselves for the improvement, but this brought no tangible results.⁶⁸ A decade later interest was again revived, and again the townships were authorized to tax themselves for the improvement. But it was not until about 1870 that a newly organized company succeeded in building the necessary locks and dams in the vicinity of the city, which made the Kankakee navigable for twenty-one miles. Then Wilmington had a satisfactory water outlet through Chicago and St. Louis, but the original design of tapping the bog iron fields near the Indiana line and of constructing a canal into the Braidwood coal fields, thus bring the two materials in contact with outlet by water, was not realized.⁶⁹

When the canal was opened in 1848, there were only sixteen boats ready for service,⁷⁰ but this state of affairs was soon remedied.⁷¹ Packets and "cargo boxes" were the earliest types used. One of these boats was about eighty feet long, twelve feet wide, and nine feet deep in the hold. The cargo box covered what would ordinarily be the deck load. The first few of these were brought from the East, probably from the canals of Ohio. It was not long, however, before another type was introduced. This was the grain boat, built

⁶⁸*Signal*, Apr. 6, June 15, Sept. 28, Dec. 28, 1847, June 25, Aug. 6, 1850, May 13, 20, 1851, Oct. 16, 1855.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, Mar. 26, May 7, 1861; *History of Will County*, 460.

⁷⁰Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 100.

⁷¹Mr. C. L. Wallace, the source of my information on canal boats, except as otherwise noted.

to the largest dimensions that the locks would allow, about one hundred feet long, seventeen feet beam, and seven feet deep in the hold, with a draft of five feet when loaded, possible only when the canal was in good condition and the water was six feet deep on the miter sill of the lock. At this draft the capacity was about six thousand bushels of corn, or one hundred twenty-five thousand feet of dry lumber or eighty to one hundred thousand feet of green lumber. Like the cargo boxes, the first of these boats were brought from the East. Besides these, steamers were occasionally noticed.⁷² The capacity of a steamboat was about two-thirds that of a grain barge, but it usually pushed one and towed two of the barges.

Passenger service made possible by the canal was much improved over that offered by the Frink and Walker stage-coaches. The canal boat or packet *Queen of the Prairie*, which was operating in 1850 on a twenty-four hour schedule from Chicago to Peru, which we may consider typical of its kind, had a cabin fifty feet long, nine feet wide, and seven feet high, which accomodated some ninety passengers. Baggage was stored on the roof, where it was protected from the weather by a canvas cover. When it was bedtime the men would go on deck, while the cabin was transformed into a sleeping room, a task which required a half hour. The sleeping accomodations consisted of three tiers of shelves placed three feet apart, extending the entire length of both sides of the cabin. There were about fifty berths, and beds for twenty were placed upon the floor. One end of the cabin was curtained off for the ladies. It may be added that during the night the windows were kept tightly closed to keep out the "malarious night air."⁷³ It was now possible during the season of navigation to leave Joliet or Lockport during the evening, arrive in Chicago the next morning, have a full

⁷²*Signal*, Aug. 27, 1850, May 27, 1851.

⁷³Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, 85-86.

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day for the transaction of business, and return the second night. In 1849 the Joliet packet *J. T. McDougall* was making three trips to Chicago per week on this schedule.⁷⁴ The mail service, however, seemed to suffer in making the change from the stage lines to the packets, but by 1850 these difficulties were removed.⁷⁵

The boats were owned in various ways, some by individuals, some by partnerships, some by companies. Sometimes the captain had a part interest in his boat, and sometimes he owned it alone.⁷⁶ A few fleets contained as many as four or five boats, as for example, that of Norton and Company of Lockport, one of the largest shippers on the canal.⁷⁷ But most of the boats were owned singly. The owners took great pride in their craft. The sturdy oak hulls were painted white with green trimmings, while green shutters hung at cabin windows; and spotless cleanliness was the rule. They were given a variety of names, prosaic and ludicrous. From four to six mules depending on the load, drew a boat on the bosom of the "raging canawl," at rates of speed which varied from less than a mile an hour, where the current was strong against them, to four or five miles per hour. Many of the boatmen owned their own teams of mules; however, there were men who made a specialty of hauling boats who had relay stations at barns located twenty to twenty-five miles apart along the line of the canal. Though there were several such organizations, the Big Line was the most prominent.⁷⁸ The leisureliness of life on the canal with the tough crews on the boats and traffic and racing rules (yes, they actually raced with the mules) gave a picturesqueness to the communities along the canal which has long since been lost.

⁷⁴W. Grinton, *Juliet and Joliet*, (Joliet, 1904), 40; *Signal*, Apr. 24, 1849.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, June 6, 1848, May 4, 1850, and many intervening issues.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, May 27, July 1, 15, 1851.

⁷⁷Mr. A. Deeming, Lockport.

⁷⁸Mr. A. Deeming and Mr. C. L. Wallace.

Boats were built at many places along the canal, but Lockport seems to have been the busiest spot. In January, 1856, the press took stock of the situation there, and noted that during the previous season there had been built at that place some fifteen boats. This season there were nine under construction in anticipation of the opening of navigation. Twenty boats were already owned in Lockport, and five or six of those under construction were for residents of that village, while the repair boats owned by the trustees and manned there brought the total up to over thirty. Besides these there were several smaller craft owned there.⁷⁹

The freight which was water-borne was of many kinds. Chicago's chief imports, a large proportion of which passed through the canal to the hinterland, consisted of merchandise, lumber, shingles, and lath, coal, iron, sugar, salt, and coffee; and its exports, mostly products of the tributary country, were furs, corn, wheat and flour, beef, tallow, hides, pork, hams, and shoulders, wool, and lard.⁸⁰

The canal, however, was inadequate. The original "deep cut" plan, according to which the waterway was to drain from the Chicago River directly, had had to be abandoned in the difficult years following the panic of 1837, but in 1865 arrangements were made with the Board of Public Works of Chicago for the completion of the canal on the first plan, to aid in the disposal of Chicago sewage. Work was begun in 1866, with Joliet contractors on the job between Joliet and Chicago, and completed in 1871. In the celebration which followed many of the notables assembled for the occasion were temporarily incapacitated by the hard liquor served, and did not even reach Lockport, where the ceremonies were held, from Chicago. Happily the governor's

⁷⁹*Signal*, Jan. 29, 1856, clipped from *Lockport Telegraph*.

⁸⁰Taken at random from "Chicago Clearances" (official records) in canal office, Lockport; Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 107-108.

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party, which included General Phil Sheridan, performed its part.⁸¹

Even with the improvement, however, the importance of the canal diminished. Its service was handicapped by three things, the first of which in point of time was the condition of the Illinois River, which for months at a time was unnavigable by canal boats and frequently by river steamers. The necessity of an unobstructed channel between La Salle and St. Louis was recognized, but help came too late. Frequent interruptions led to less reliance on the waterway. Nevertheless tolls continued to increase until the maximum was reached in 1866, while the greatest tonnage in the history of the canal was carried in 1882. Secondly, the growing demands of an enlarging commerce were less and less satisfied by the waterway. And thirdly, the ever increasing efficiency of the competing railroad service had no parallel in the work performed by the canal.⁸² "While the canal played an important part as a commercial route between the East and the West before the rise of railroad transportation, its influence on the economic development of the region adjacent to it was even more marked as is attested by the growth of the population, industry, and commerce in that portion of the state, in the quarter of the century from 1830 to 1855. It not only transformed the wilderness into a settled and prosperous community, but it made Chicago the metropolis of the Mississippi valley. For half a century the influence of the canal was felt as a transportation route and as a freight regulator."⁸³ After 1882 tonnage declined until 1914, when commercial navigation practically ceased.

Hardly had the canal been opened when railroads were projected to reach portions of the state not easily accessible

⁸¹*History of Will County*, 301-305; Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 143-44; *Signal*, Aug. 14, Nov. 20, Dec. 4, 1866, Feb. 19, 1867, and others.

⁸²Putnam, *Op. cit.*, 92-93, 115-16, Appendix I.

⁸³Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, 155-56.

to the waterway. Of these lines one was destined to come in conflict with the canal and to influence greatly the future of Joliet.

For many years the question of the construction of the canal or railroad from the Illinois River near the terminus of the Illinois and Michigan Canal to the Mississippi at Rock Island, had been agitated. On February 27, 1847, the Rock Island and La Salle Railroad Company was chartered to construct a railroad between these two points. It was expected that this road would prove an important feeder for the canal by developing the region between the two rivers and also by tapping the upper Mississippi trade and drawing it to Chicago through the canal. An amendment of the charter February 7, 1851, however, authorized the extension of the road to Chicago and designated the corporation as the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company. It was the evident intention of the legislators in granting the right of extension, to make the railroad supplementary to the canal rather than a competitor for its traffic. Therefore, following the example of New York regarding railway competition with the Erie Canal, the act granting the charter provided compensation to the canal for losses of freight traffic by reason of railroad competition. . . . Through a blunder of the trustees the road escaped the burden of this provision. A formal grant by the trustees of a right of way through the canal lands not later than the first Monday in June, 1851, was necessary to obligate the company to observe the provision of the act of incorporation. Advised that the right of eminent domain could not be exercised in the case of land granted for public use, the trustees refused to make the grant, thinking in this way to prevent railway competition. The company instituted successful condemnation proceedings, and the trustees failed in an effort to enjoin the construction of the road through canal lands.⁸⁴

With the organization of the Rock Island company in the spring of 1851, controversies which involved the future of Joliet arose as to the eastern terminus of the Rock Island, and the entry of rail lines building from the East into Chicago.⁸⁵ The muddle was created by the conflicting aims of the financial interests, backed by their respective political connections. In 1849 the Michigan Central Railroad was

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 108-10.

⁸⁵*Signal*, Feb. 4, 11, Mar. 4, 11, 25, 1851.

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offering double daily service from Chicago to the East, by steamer across Lake Michigan to New Buffalo (daily service from Milwaukee), rail to Detroit, steamer to Buffalo, and connecting rail to Albany.⁸⁶ Then in 1851 its program of expansion met with an obstacle. The company was trying to secure entrance into Chicago, but was blocked by inability to secure a right of way across Indiana. The Southern Michigan Railroad, meanwhile, had right of way across Indiana, by virtue of its connection with the Indiana Northern, but because of opposition of the capitalists behind the Michigan Central, it could not enter Chicago.⁸⁷ In this state of affairs the Rock Island came to the rescue of the Southern Michigan. According to the former's charter the company was expressly forbidden to build any branch or branches from any point between the southern terminus of the canal and Chicago, eastward to connect with any railroads then built or to be built; but there was nothing to prevent the building of the main line eastward toward the Indiana boundary, thus providing entry into the city for the Southern Michigan and the Indiana Northern. Friends of the Michigan Central tried to prevent this, but in June, 1851, the Rock Island and the Indiana Northern signed a contract, by which the latter entered Chicago under the former's charter, with complete commercial connections.⁸⁸ If I am not mistaken, this is the New York Central-Rock Island junction at Englewood, 63rd Street, Chicago. The Michigan Central gained entrance to the city over the line of the Illinois Central.

An amusing phase of this Chicago transportation situation, so far as it concerned Joliet, was the eagerness of Joliet people, editorially expressed, for a connection between East and West which would leave Chicago off the main traffic

⁸⁶*Signal* April 17, 1849.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, Jan. 7, April 8, 1851.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, Feb. 11, April 8, 1851; J. G. Ellwood, *Pioneer Railroads of Joliet*, an unpublished MS.

lines, situated as the city is several miles north of the southern tip of Lake Michigan. In view of the opposition of the Galena and Chicago Union and the Michigan Central to the entrance of the Southern Michigan into Chicago, the latter, it was urged, ought to join the Rock Island at Joliet instead. "What would be the passengers and freight secured by running to Chicago, in comparison to the immense business that would be acquired by intersecting the canal at this place?"⁸⁹ At the time the Rock Island's plans were taking shape, the Illinois Central Railroad Company was coming into form, and the location of the main line of the Chicago branch was a matter of importance to every town through which the railroad might go. The state legislature passed a law incorporating the company in the session of 1850-52, providing for a railroad from Cairo to the southern terminus of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, with a branch by way of Galena to a point on the Mississippi opposite Dubuque, Iowa, and another branch to Chicago.⁹⁰ Of course Joliet must be on the line. This was insisted upon at railroad meetings, at one of which Lockport and Wilmington were graciously allowed to be included in the benefits of the new service.⁹¹ Confidence was expressed that Joliet would surely have the Central, even though jealous Chicagoans tried to prevent; and one editorial called upon the people of Chicago to look to their interests: if they permitted the railroad to follow the Indiana line, as they then favored, the company would connect with lines from the East and divert traffic away from their city; their true interests required the Central to follow the canal from Joliet north.⁹² Joliet lost out because of Chicago's influence, it was claimed, but it was noted later that some Chicago papers were sorry that they had opposed Joliet's interests, as the eastern connection which would be

⁸⁹*Signal*, Jan. 7, 1851.

⁹⁰*Signal*, Feb. 11, 1851.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1850.

⁹²*Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1850, Jan. 21, Feb. 25, Mar. 4, 1851.

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so detrimental to their city was now an actual danger.⁹³ Fear of monopoly was already coloring current affairs, and a week after the press announced that the line of the Central had been located and surveyed, the company was criticised as a monopoly with special privileges⁹⁴—suggestive of the fable of the fox and the grapes. Finally, on July 11, 1853, the Chicago branch of the Illinois Central was opened from Chicago to the Kankakee River, a distance of fifty-six miles, a part of which lies in Will County.⁹⁵

Joliet's disappointment over its failure to win the Central was not deep, however. That line would have been welcome, but the Rock Island meant more to the local community. The Rock Island and La Salle had been projected by Rock Island interests in 1847, but its continuation to Chicago was achieved largely through the efforts of Joel A. Matteson, a prominent business man and woolen manufacturer of Joliet. Though not on the directorate, he was regarded as the tower of strength in promoting, financing, and pushing the enterprise.⁹⁶ Farnham and Sheffield were awarded the contract for building the line, but Matteson had a sub-contract for the construction of that part of it between Blue Island and the west line of Will County, a distance of thirty-five miles, on a large part of which he himself took personal charge.⁹⁷ Another Joliet business man, Nelson D. Elwood, became secretary of the company and a member of the executive committee.⁹⁸ Other citizens less prominent were appointed to solicit subscriptions, and it was reported that stockholders in this vicinity were in no way backward about paying installments on their stock.⁹⁹ So eager was the community to have the line pass through

⁹³*Ibid.*, Mar. 11, June 17, 1851.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, Jan. 28, Feb. 4, 11, 1851, Jan. 20, 1852.

⁹⁵*Signal*, July 12, 1853.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1847, Oct. 28, 1851; Elwood, *Pioneer Railroads*, 11-12.

⁹⁷*Signal*, Sept. 9, 30, 1851, Mar. 9, 1852.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, April 15, Sept. 16, 1851; Elwood, *Op. cit.*, 5.

⁹⁹*Signal*, Mar. 4, Dec. 16, 1851.

the town that the board of supervisors in November, 1851, granted a right of way to the company through the public square on which the court house stood, on condition that the company make certain improvements on the square.¹⁰⁰

Construction work on Matteson's section began in the fall of 1851 and progressed rapidly. Track laying proceeded westwardly from Chicago and eastwardly from Joliet, with iron rails weighing sixty pounds per yard, which were brought to Joliet from Chicago in canal boats. This work between Chicago and Joliet was completed October 9, 1852, and the road was opened to the public on October 18, after which two baby trains in each direction were run; a passenger house was built, and preparations for a freight house were underway by the first of January, 1853.¹⁰¹ In December, 1852, Mr. Farnham, one of the contractors, gave Joliet citizens a free ride to Chicago. The day was fine, the cars were well arranged, the company of the ladies was delightful, and for all of the seven hundred who went it was a joyous occasion.¹⁰² On the rest of the route the work of construction was pushed, until, on February 22, 1854, the railroad was opened to its western terminus at Rock Island. During this same year the Bureau Valley Railroad was opened from Bureau Junction, on the main line, to Peoria, and was leased in perpetuity to the Rock Island.¹⁰³ At the time of the opening of the road to the Mississippi, a train went down the line, taking on city officials and invited guests from towns along the way, arriving at Rock Island about five o'clock in the afternoon, where a banquet in the station marked a climax of the festivities; and in June of that year another celebration was held, when the company ran a com-

¹⁰⁰*Signal*, Nov. 25, 1851; *Joliet True Democrat*, Nov. 27, 1851.

¹⁰¹*Signal*, Sept. 30, Oct. 21, 1851, June 29, 1852, Jan. 4, 1853; Elwood, *Pioneer Railroads*, 7.

¹⁰²*Signal*, Dec. 21, 1852.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1854.

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bined rail and steamboat excursion from Chicago to St. Paul and return.¹⁰⁴

As soon as it was open to Joliet, the railroad became the favorite mode of transportation between Chicago and Joliet, and with its completion throughout its length, practically all passenger business between Joliet and La Salle also deserted the canal.¹⁰⁵ Before the westward advance of the railroad, stagecoaches and canal packets retreated gradually toward the frontier. During the winter of 1852-53, when Joliet was the railhead, the company's advertisement read in part, "At Joliet, the 8-25 A M Train from Chicago connects with the Packet Boats, until they are withdrawn, and thereafter with stages to La Salle and Peru. Stages leave these points Westward to Rock Island, Davenport, Burlington, and Iowa City; Southward to Bloomington, Springfield and St. Louis, and Northward to Freeport, Galena and Dubuque."¹⁰⁶ There was also a service by stage between Joliet and Lockport, which connected with the trains to and from Chicago,¹⁰⁷ another between Joliet and Plainfield,¹⁰⁸ and in 1853, another between Joliet and Bourbonnais Grove by way of Wilmington and Rockville.¹⁰⁹ Thus we see Joliet beginning to become a center with which the surrounding communities, now being out-distanced, were connected like the spokes of a wheel. When, in February, 1853, rail service extended to Ottawa, stagecoach connections to points beyond made that town their eastern terminus; and in May of the same year the trains reached La Salle and Peru, where travelers could embark on first-class river steamers for the trip down the Illinois to St. Louis.¹¹⁰

The citizens took pride in their "excellent railroad over

¹⁰⁴*Signal*, Feb. 28, June 13, 1854.

¹⁰⁵Putnam, *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, III.

¹⁰⁶*Signal*, Dec. 21, 1852.

¹⁰⁷Inferred from statement of Mr. A. Deeming, Lockport.

¹⁰⁸*Signal*, Aug. 30, 1870; Plainfield still had no railroad of its own.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, Mar. 22, 1853.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, Mar. 1, May 10, 1853.

which bounds twice a day a magnificent train conveying at least two hundred and fifty passengers at a load."¹¹¹ And the press took pleasure in telling its readers of the immense travel on the Rock Island. In April, 1853, there were six cars on the westbound train, carrying four hundred passengers, and in May traffic had become so unexpectedly large that it was necessary to run two passenger trains a day, and a year later, in May, it was reported that the travel on the road after the opening of navigation was immense. "Ten trains pass over the road daily, and yet this is hardly sufficient for the conveyance of the passengers and freight that are seeking this thoroughfare."¹¹² But as habituation brought the new railroad into the realm of the commonplace, and the company was becoming more securely established as a carrier, certain disadvantages began to appear. There was complaint of the way in which the depot was kept. Cows on the track would derail the engine, or the damages would be to the cows alone. A serious accident fourteen miles below Joliet in 1854, in which twelve were killed and forty-eight were injured, elicited a demand for the fencing of railroad property and for an investigation of this "wholesale murder."¹¹³ But the one thing that could always be depended upon to open the floodgates of editorial wrath was the occupancy of the public square by the Rock Island. Trains rattled through the center of the city with consequent interruption of business in that part of town and increasing danger to life at the grade crossings on the principal streets.¹¹⁴ The changed attitude was slow in coming, but the rising discontent coincided in its early stages with the turning of favorable attention to a new project of major importance, which had not yet done anything to merit disfavor.

¹¹¹*Signal*, Apr. 5, 1853.

¹¹²*Signal*, Mar. 1, Apr. 12, May 3, 1853; May 2, 1854.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, Aug. 2, Nov. 8, 1853; Nov. 17, 1854; June 12, 1855.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, Nov. 14, Nov. 28, Dec. 5, 26, 1854, June 5, 12, 19, 1855, *et multos alios ad nauseam ad infinitum*.

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This project was a new railroad, now known as the Alton.

The nucleus of the Alton was the Alton and Sangamon Railroad Company, chartered by the state legislature February 27, 1847, to connect the cities of Alton and Springfield. Subsequent amendments permitted the extension of the line to Bloomington and Peoria, but it was under the amendment of June 19, 1852, that the work was accomplished. From Bloomington the road might be extended to connect with the Rock Island at a point not west of Ottawa nor east of Joliet, and connection with any railroad from the East was forbidden except within the city limits of Chicago (evidently the fear of diversion of traffic from Chicago was real in those days). Again Matteson became possessed of the charter and its amendments, and conducted the work with his usual energy. By April, 1853, the line from Springfield to Joliet was all under contract, and by December the road was in operation between Bloomington and Alton. Construction work was carried on southward from, and northward toward, Joliet, with rails coming in from New Orleans to Alton and from Chicago to Joliet. From December, 1853, until the following April, work was suspended because of the difficulty of procuring iron, but on July 31, 1854, the first train traveled from Bloomington to Joliet, eighty-five miles, in two hours and thirty-five minutes, almost as short a time as the Rock Island trains made the distance of forty miles between Chicago and Joliet in 1852.¹¹⁵

Joliet was thus the northern terminal of the Chicago and Mississippi, as the new railroad was at first known. Arrangements were made whereby the passenger trains from the south were run into and out of Chicago over the Rock Island's track without changing. For freight trains, however, no such arrangement existed. The transportation com-

¹¹⁵Elwood, *Pioneer Railroads*, 8-10; *Signal*, Apr. 5, Dec. 6, 1853, Apr. 18, Aug. 8, 1854; *City of Joliet Records*, A, 88.

panies on the canal, the warehousemen of Joliet, and the railroad cooperated in the transfer of freight between canal and railroad at Joliet. A railroad track was constructed between the depot and the warehouses along the canal in order to avoid drayage. Traffic was immense from the first, and facilities proved inadequate. According to the agent at Chicago a thousand cars could have been profitably employed, but efforts to obtain two or three hundred were unsuccessful. It was observed without regret that some business deserted the Rock Island for the new road, though in what manner the two companies competed was not disclosed. Joliet now had connections with the southern markets by way of St. Louis, with the company's two steamers filling the gap between railhead at Alton and the Missouri metropolis. The time of transit between Joliet and St. Louis was twelve and one-quarter hours, with double daily service provided in 1854.¹¹⁶

It was inevitable that the Chicago and Mississippi should want to have entrance to Chicago over its own tracks. In the session of 1854-55 the state legislature chartered the Joliet and Chicago Railroad Company, which was intended to be an extension of the Chicago and Mississippi, known by this time as the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis. Even before the building of the new line, arrangements were made for leasing the Joliet and Chicago to the Alton, with a guaranty of eight per-cent return on the former's stock. The new corporation merely built the railroad; the Alton furnished the equipment.¹¹⁷ Wilmington, neglected by the Illinois Central and never considered by the Rock Island, now was on the main line of the Alton. But Lockport still was without a railroad until the advent of the Alton's extension. Among the incorporators of the Joliet and Chicago were prominent Lockport business men, among whom probably the richest

¹¹⁶*Signal*, Sept. 5, Oct. 17, 1854, Nov. 6, 1855; *Joliet Records*, A, 185.

¹¹⁷*Signal*, Apr. 24, 1855.

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man in Will County was the president, while Matteson, who now lived in Springfield, and a Joliet resident were directors. The contract for the construction of the line was let in Lockport in June, 1857, to a Lockport firm, and the line was completed from Joliet to Lockport in November, 1857, and to Chicago in the early spring of 1858. The opening was duly celebrated by an excursion to Chicago. Nine cars were filled with people from Joliet and Lockport, and formal entertainment was provided by Grosh's, the Hibernia, and the Lockport Bands. The tender of the locomotive jumped the tracks once and was put back, but when it jumped the second time some of the passengers went on into the city on foot or in market wagons. The return was made without mishap.¹¹⁸ Affairs did not always go well with the Alton, but it never won the enmity attached to the Rock Island, probably because it did not go through the center of town. Of its subsequent history, aside from continued operation, one or two events concerned Joliet. For a short time it seemed to be locally controlled, but whatever the reasons for its failure, it was sold in bankruptcy and emerged as the Chicago and Alton Railroad, the name which it retained until its purchase by the Baltimore and Ohio, when it became known simply as the Alton.¹¹⁹

By 1854 Joliet had rail connections with Chicago, with the trans-Mississippi West over the Rock Island, and with the South by way of the St. Louis gateway over the Alton; but its citizens desired direct connection with the East. Some of those who had promoted the Rock Island and the Alton saw their opportunity in the charter of the Oswego and Indiana Plank Road Company, which, it will be remembered, permitted the construction of a railroad over any part of its right of way. With this charter as the basis,

¹¹⁸*Signal*, June 9, Nov. 3, 1857, Mar. 23, 1858.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1855, Mar. 4, Sept. 16, 1856, May 10, 1859, Sept. 9, Oct. 7, 1862.

they organized the Joliet and Northern Indiana Railroad Company. Again Matteson, although not an officer, was the chief promoter and financier. When work began on the construction of this line is not clear, for in those times of soaring optimism rail projects of many sorts and under many titles were discussed, and the Zarleys in the *Signal* office could and did on many occasions get any corporate name wrong. Among the projects was one for a line connecting Joliet with Eastern railroads, which, because of its avoidance of Chicago, came to be known as the Cut-Off, a term possibly coined by jealous (!) Chicago papers. But the real Cut-Off which actually was built, was the Joliet and Northern Indiana, completed in May, 1855, and duly opened by an excursion to the other end of the line on May 7. The railroad was about forty-five miles long, extending from Joliet to Lake Junction, Indiana, where connection was made with the Michigan Central. The schedule which went into effect in July showed the importance of the new line as a connecting link. Two trains were run each way daily to connect at the east end with trains from Detroit and Cincinnati and at the west end with trains from the south on the Alton. The line was leased as soon as it was opened to the Michigan Central, and became, as it still is, the Joliet Division of that railroad, though popularly known for many years as the Cut-Off. Its importance as a factor in the development of the Joliet gateway is indicated by the fact that in the year 1855 the road was in operation only during the last six months, yet its total business, expressed in revenues, passing through the Joliet station, exceeded that of the Rock Island and almost equaled that of the Alton for the entire year at this station.¹²⁰

The completion of these railroads ended for a time the

¹²⁰*Signal*, Apr. 26, June 28, July 19, Aug. 2, 9, Oct. 12, 1853, May 8, 15, July 10, 1855, et al.; Elwood, *Pioneer Railroads*, 11-2; *Progress Resources and Prospects of the City of Joliet, Will County, Ill., With the evidences of the enterprise of her Citizens* (Joliet, 1856), 6, 10.

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construction of rail facilities through Joliet, but there were many others planned, which never materialized. When in 1856 a pamphlet was published which set forth the commercial advantages of Joliet, the publishers confidently asserted that nine railroads, "eight of which terminate in Joliet," were "already built, and in process of building and contemplated." Of these nine, three, as we have seen, the Rock Island, the Alton, and the Michigan Central, were in operation, but the Joliet and Chicago was not yet organized. The others which were chartered and contemplated were the Joliet and Elgin, Joliet and Mendota, Joliet and La Fayette, Joliet and Terre Haute, and Joliet and Freeport. Each one was logically located to bring the city in touch with neighboring communities and to place it on through routes of travel.¹²¹ The Joliet and Mendota was the most persistent of these projects. Had it been built, it would have continued the Cut-Off westward through Newark to Mendota. The affairs of the company were usually reported to be in flourishing condition, and it seemed as if it were going to be built in the near future. Two attempts were made to secure municipal appropriations, but in 1857 the proposition was voted down, and in 1869 the town board refused to call an election. Yet for over fifteen years the Mendota road held the hopes and ambitions of investors and citizens along the proposed route.¹²² Other projects received varying degrees of support from local government, but one and all, they failed to materialize.¹²³

Joliet, however, had no need for more facilities of this sort. It was served by the canal, still in flourishing condition long after the advent of the newer mode, by two railroads from Chicago to the West and South respectively, and by a line to the East. It is axiomatic that the intersection of com-

¹²¹*Ibid.*, 4-6.

¹²²*Signal*, Feb. 5, 1856, Feb. 10, Apr. 14, 1857, Nov. 30, Dec. 14, 1869, *et al.*

¹²³*Ibid.*, May 17, June 14, 21, 1870, *et al.*

peting transportation facilities at a point tends to make rates on goods transported to and from that point lower than the rates which other stations must pay which do not enjoy such conditions. Certainly Joliet had such an advantage. It is difficult to trace cause and effect in economic development, but a comparison of the population of Joliet with that of the other communities in the county suggests that the presence of these advantages was the direct cause of the rise of the city to economic supremacy. Both Joliet and Lockport grew slowly until about 1850. In 1851 the population of Joliet diminished rather than increased, but in 1852 the impulse which came from the construction of the Rock Island began to be felt. It was between 1853 and 1856 that rapid growth started,¹²⁴ and by 1857 Joliet had far outstripped its neighbors in size. The figures in the accompanying table are not

THE GROWTH OF WILL COUNTY
AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES THEREIN
1840-1930

(a) Total Population

1840	10,167		
1845	10,156		
1850	16,703	64.4% gain in	5 years
1860	29,321	75.5% gain in	10 years
1870	43,013	46.3% gain in	10 years
1930	110,732		

(b) Selected Communities within Will County

	1850	1857	1860	1870	1930
Joliet ^a	2,659	7,022	7,102	7,263	42,993
Lockport ^b	1,657	....	2,824	1,772	3,383
Wilmington ^b	1,346	....	1,552	1,828	1,740
Plainfield ^b	1,093	....	1,726	723	1,428
Crete ^c	731	....	1,189	1,468	1,429
Monee ^d .....	...	....	872	598	1,014
Peotone ^c .....	...	....	301	1,213	1,154

^aTownship, 1850; city only, 1857, ff.

^bTownship, 1850, 1860; city or village only, 1870, 1930.

^cTownship, 1850, 1860; 1870; village only, 1930.

^dTownship, 1860, 1930; village only, 1870.

strictly comparable, for in some cases the population figures

¹²⁴Pamphlet of 1856, 8.

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for the villages are not given separately from those of their respective townships; but they do show plainly that between 1850 and 1860 some forces were at work which put Joliet definitely and permanently in the lead, and constricted the relative growth of neighboring communities. In the seven years from 1850 to 1857, beginning a year or two after the opening of the canal had made its influence felt, including the years of local railroad expansion, and ending with the panic which closed the boisterous fifties, Joliet grew from over two thousand people to over seven thousand, a rate of growth the like of which has not been experienced in the city since that time. Lockport, Wilmington, and Plainfield grew very slightly, and all just about held their own until after 1870. In the intervening years, the conditions which gave Joliet this first start have persisted until the present time, and indicate a continuance indefinitely. These conditions were lost sight of, when, a few years ago, the citizens in an unguarded moment of unjustified optimism voted a bond issue to finance the building of an airport which now collects dust, interest charges, operations costs, and prairie winds, and occasionally sees an airplane. Their fears lest the city lose to other places equipped with airports would have been less real had the background of historical development been understood better.

Besides these, a number of towns came into existence as railroad towns: New Lenox and Mokena on the Rock Island, Elwood on the Alton, Frankfort and Spencer on the Cut-Off, and Peotone and Monee on the Illinois Central. They serve the needs of farmers in their small areas, as retail centers and shipping points, but they have grown little; while Channahon, neglected by the railroads, sleeps beside the quiet waters of the old canal, a wide spot on a busy highway.¹²⁵

¹²⁵*History of Will County*, 505-06, 513, 515, 552, 573-75, 624-25.

The limits of the Joliet market after the advent of the railroads are not difficult to determine. In a general way, the longest distance that a farmer could drive from his home to the city and return in one day, allowing him time to dispose of his produce and do his purchasing, governed. This radial distance was twenty to twenty-five miles.¹²⁶ Joliet's position was not unchallenged, however. The Norton mills of Lockport attracted business from beyond Plainfield, while Plainfield, Wilmington, and the other small towns had their own patronage. But the one advantage which Joliet possessed over the others was the direct connection with the East over the tracks of the Michigan Central. This service saved a day or more in time in the exportation of local products and the importation of merchandise by obviating delays in Chicago yards; but it also gave Joliet shippers the same rates to the Atlantic seaboard as Chicago merchants paid, and enabled local dealers to pay approximately Chicago prices for country produce. It was noted that farmers came from adjoining counties, especially Kane and Kendall on the west, as far as forty miles, past other market towns, to take advantage of these higher prices. On one occasion observers reported that Joliet dealers paid one dollar per hundredweight more for dressed hogs, than Wilmington, Morris, Kankakee, or Ottawa dealers, or those of any other point in the region outside of Chicago.¹²⁷

Thus a fortunate combination of transportation facilities, aided by a naturally rich tributary country, stimulated the growth of Joliet, and enabled it to become the chief city of its area, secondary only to Chicago. At the same time the railroad net, spreading farther in all directions from Chicago, consolidating that city's position as the distributing center of the Middle West, was providing the basis for a

¹²⁶Mr. C. E. Brownson of Plainfield, Mr. G. W. Bush of Joliet, Mr. A. Deeming of Lockport.

¹²⁷*Signal*, Jan. 19, 26, 1869, Feb. 22, 1870, *et al.*

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larger territorial division of economic activity, in which Joliet enjoyed a growing part. The small town became a city, the general store gave way to a diversity of retail and department stores, banks were founded, and new industries became established now that there were facilities for carrying to national markets the products of agriculture and industry which hitherto had not been profitably produced.¹²⁸ Joliet, in the decade of the fifties, when transportation developments favored it, found itself, and the later industrial developments can be traced most surely to those booming days of the westward movement.

¹²⁸The issues of the *Signal* in the middle 1850's chronicle well the events of that time; practically every issue reflects the booming conditions of that period and shows the maturing of the frontier town into the diversified city.

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

By

BARBARA BURR

This is the story of Lindorf Ozburn, a village miller born in Jackson County, Illinois, and his military record in two wars. As a youth of twenty-four, he left his wife and baby son for the long marches of the Mexican War. As a man of thirty-eight, he helped John A. Logan organize a regiment which became part of the Army of the Tennessee. Logan was his cousin by marriage and his close associate from boyhood until death.

Lindorf Ozburn was born May 21, 1823, in the fertile bottom lands of Jackson County in southwestern Illinois. His father died while he was yet an infant, but three paternal uncles who lived nearby kept alive his sense of family. When young Doff was only two, the widowed Udosha Ozburn became the wife of Imri Byars. Soon after, Matilda and Margaret Byars were born, and Doff became the leader of a lively young trio.

As the boy was growing up, the nearby town of Brownsville was his mecca. This first county seat of Jackson County, the location of the largest salt spring in that part of the state, was a thriving and bustling community. Big Muddy River gave the town an outlet to the Mississippi, and many were the keel-boats carrying salt, flour, beef, and other farm produce to the New Orleans market. Coal banks were being systematically mined on Muddy River, where coal could be conveniently loaded for river traffic.

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

Young Doff probably went to school at Brownsville. There he learned to write that fine Spencerian hand, to be facile in expressing his thoughts. These were gifts which would cause a great demand for his services as a letter writer when he and his friends were away at war.

It was in Brownsville that Doff's mother died when he was only ten. She too was young. A stone in memory of "Udosha Byars, wife of Imri, died July 5, 1833 aged 28 years," stands in the desolate Brownsville cemetery.

The next years of Lindorf Ozburn's life we cannot follow. He may well have been apprenticed to the miller at Brownsville, for that was the trade he would follow through the other activities of his life.

But on October 9, 1845, Lindorf Ozburn married, and as a man of family he began to leave his mark on the community's life. His choice was Diza Manning Glenn, a member through her mother of what would be known as the "royal family" of southern Illinois. The bride was born January 3, 1830, the daughter of Isaac Glenn of Jackson County. Diza's parents died early, and her mother's sister took the orphan. This kind aunt was Elizabeth Jenkins Logan, wife of Dr. John Logan and mother of John Alexander Logan. Alexander Jenkins, who was elected lieutenant governor of Illinois in 1834, was Diza's uncle. Another aunt, for whom she was named, had been known as the belle of Brownsville at the time of her (Diza Jenkins') marriage to Joel Manning, clerk of the Jackson County courts.

Diza Manning Glenn had had the unusual advantage of a year in the home and select school of B. G. Roots, whose academy near Tamaroa in adjoining Perry County was famous. John A. Logan was instructed there, and his cousin Diza was probably one of the few young women who had such advantages. She was preparing herself to be a teacher, but on her return to Jackson County handsome Doff Ozburn persuaded her to another career.

So Diza Glenn and Lindorf Ozburn were married in the hospitable farm home of Dr. John Logan. Their happiness was crowned by the birth of a son on July 21, 1846. Less than a year later came the second call for volunteers in the war with Mexico. Diza and young Don were taken to the home of Doctor Logan. Lindorf Ozburn and John A. Logan marched off to enlist.

The Illinois volunteers rendezvoused at Alton. On June 9, 1847, the Jackson County men were organized as Company H, 5th Regiment, under Colonel W. B. Newby. Captain James Hampton commanded Company H, and Sergeant Lindorf Ozburn was assigned to that most vital of military duties, the commissary.

The 5th Regiment left Alton on June 14, bound for Fort Leavenworth, then in Missouri. It was a long march across the prairies, and the eyes of a man accustomed to the hills of southern Illinois may well have grown tired.

WALNUT CREEK PAWNE NATION

July 10, 1847

MY DEAR DIZA

Again I take the next opportunity I have of writing to you. I have nothing to complain of yet only my eyes are tired looking at the works of Nature. I have had before my view but the boundless Prairie, which for the first few days had a most grand appearance, but only the one Scene for 27 days gave me a disgust to a Prairie Country. But now the Scenery is different. Every day for a few days past we have seen herds of Buffalo which seemed to put a new life in the boys but was deprived of hunting Until yesterday when we had a fine hunt. There was 7 killed which will be as much as will be used in several days. I have just took breakfast of it and I think I never had better meat in my life. It was a calf of the fatest kind.

I had a permit for to take a party of ten for to look for wild fruit. I set [out] with my brave boys down the creek on which we are encamped. At the distance of about three miles I struck the Arkansas River (by looking on your Map you can draw an idea where I was, about 70 miles below where the Santafe trail crosses the river) where I found

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

the banks abounding with the finest of Chickasaw Plumbs. Me and my little party eat Freely as we was hungry for fruit of some kind. We then struck down the river for some distance and finally concluded to cross over: The river here is about 500 yds wide. The water is from 18 in to 2 feet deep.

Diza, since the above was writtin I had to start. I have to stop on the road and Finish in a dangerous place by my self because the [wagon] train we expected to meet is coming. I am well. Write soon and often. I will write soon again. Kiss my boy.

Your ever remaining husband
L. OZBURN

To Diza Ozburn in haste

Sergeant Ozburn carried this letter on to Fort Leavenworth to mail, but for some reason it did not leave the Fort until September 1. However, he wrote again within four days and this second letter went promptly on its way. The difficulties of preparing for a second march, this time to Santa Fe, occupied Sergeant Ozburn's mind, although he took time for a generous tribute to his fellow soldier, John A. Logan.

FT LEAVENWORTH
July 14 [1847]

DIZA, MY DEAR WIFE

I now take the last opportunity of writing to you from this place. You will excuse me if I should be short for I have been all day from daylight until since dark having our provisions put into waggons to start across the plains in the morning at 8 o'clock Precisly. My mind is much scattered in thought, as I had great difficulty with the d——d old commissary, to get enough to last the boys across. I had to summon men from the rank &c to drive the teams. No one knows but them that can see or has an experienced knowledge of it, the duties and fatigues I have to undergo.

When they begin to get out of eatables I have no rest until the next day of Issue, then everything goes on well until some Messes who are extravagant do not have enough to do them. Others that are equinomicle have plenty to do them and some to sell. The Mess I am in is quite equinomicle. None of them thinks they have cooked too much, but all

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are willing to lend a hand. They are all first rate fellows. I suppose you would like to know who they are. I believe I have never told you in any of my letters their names. I will mention them at least—Harrison Hicks, James Hall, Samuel Carlisle, James Eakin and a man by the name of Lighterer. All are first rate fellows and of the true grit. You do not know the attachment that messmates have to each other in so short a time as this.

Diza, you do not know how little I have to write about that would be interesting to you. The boys that you are acquainted with are well but it is [a] most distressing scene to see the sickness and the treatment of the sick is more brutish than humane. There has but few days passed since we came here but what there has been a true hearted Illinoian laid under the sod. But they are not forgotten at the burial hour. Each company has buried their dead with the honors of war due them, but no company has come up to ours for the splendor of apperence at the grave. But if it was not for the boys from Jackson [county] it would be the most trifling company in the regiment, for there is some pride and spirit in them and the officers. The Capt takes but little responsibility upon himself, which makes the other boys from the different counties so dooless in trying to do anything or make anykind of a show.

But I hope the day is not far distant when John will be Capt of the Company for he justly deserves the Station. If John Logan was out of the company I would pray to be at home, but he is the same John here that he is at home. He has nothing but if I need I get a share and that without a murmur. John is the same John ever willing to aid any friend in need or in want and appears like a brother to me. But he bothers me so much about writing that I get out of Patience with him. If I would he would have me to write a letter to every member of Uncle Conners' family, his father's family, Mack, to his friends in Texas, his friends in Sangamon [county] and god knows who all for I do not. [It] gives me no chance to write to my friends as much as I would wish. But I have written more than all my friends in Jackson have or I certainly would have recd some letters before now. But I have had but one and that has been answered, you have read before now.

Diza, it is now near ten oclock at night. Everything is in profound silence around me. I am sitting on John Logan's trunk writing off of a box which is within my tent. Nothing to call my mind but the light step of the watch. At this moment my pen drops. My thoughts are: where is my wife and child? are they well? what are they doing? Hark, my boy sleeps, his watchful mother stands by sobing for him. Her

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thoughts is: what is your father doing? is he sick? if so has he any one to soothe his feelings or give him the tender care that I could? Let me say, Diza, that my thoughts were just as I have written. But I am well and in good spts. and do not want you for a moment [to] grieve about me, for by so doing you could not help me. Let my situation be as it may, all I ask is your continued love and the care of my little boy.

If you think you would like to teach school I would undertake one at Uncle Hawkins' or Mr. Murphy's. I think that would suit you very well until I return. But I have no idea when to say I will be at home. You can give a better idea than I could for news papers are perfect Stranger[s] to us. We hear nothing but camp news and that cannot be believed in any case.

In conclusion I would say, Diza, my only request at present to write often to me and get all the friends of the boys to write. For you do not know the anxiety they have to hear from home. They are all well of your acquaintance except Wm Jones who I have no idea will live three days.

. . . I hope I will see you again, if not I die in a just cause that will be no disgrace to any of you.

Your Ever remaining Husband. . . .

LINDORF OZBURN

At home, Mrs. Ozburn made arrangements to teach a sixty-day school. The subscribers promised nine scholars and two "half scholars." The teacher agreed "to keep as good order as in common schools and forward the progress of the Scholars as far as in her power in the following branches of English education: Spelling, Reading, Writing." Tuition was \$2.50 for each scholar.

The City of Mexico had fallen and war was virtually over before the next letter was written. Sergeant Ozburn expressed a frank criticism of the military plans when he wrote from Santa Fe on October 20, 1847.

Again an opportunity presents itself to send you a few lines, to full fill my promise of writing to you. I have but little more than was in my last to write. We are yet in our tents, but an order came yesterday which destines us for to stay at this place for winter quarters.

The order divides the Illinois Regiment, sends five Companies South

BARBARA BURR

to Chichuahua forming a regiment with the [?] Missouri Battalion which will march from here in the course of ten days. Leaving Co (A) Commanded by Capt Bond, Co (C) by Capt Turner, (E) by Capt Hook, (G) by Capt Reed, (H) by Capt Hampton which is our company, forming a battalion of Illinoisians to Guard this post. It is thought by the most of the officers that the order would and ought to be countermanded if Genl Price was here and leave the whole of the regiment here or march them all off. My opinion is that not less than one regiment ought to remain here as all the Military Stores in the north part of Mexico are here and I assure you it is quite a quantity Considering the number of soldiers here.

I was flattered with a belief the other day that I would get to come and see you this winter as John Logan had the apointment of recruiting officer, but my hopes were blasted by him refusing to receive it. I never have asked him his reason, but I suppose he wishes to win Lawreles in the field of battle if there should a chance present itself, which I think will be the case before May. In fact I am in hopes we will not walk so far as we did, come home and say we have done nothing, besides left many poor fellow soldiers here, taken off by disease who was willing to die in the battle field. It grieves me to see so many poor fellows dieing.

We have lost one as I said before and many more now are quite Sick (viz) Saml Carlisle, James Hall, Joseph Turk are quite sick and Hardiman Gill, poor fellow. It is not right to say a man will die but all hopes is gone. He cannot live more than one or two days at most. He has been out of his mind near ten days, has something like the Typhus fever. It appears to be quite a lingering disease which all die with here.

My health is good and I am in good spts and I think I will remain so by care. The Surgeon of the regiment is a great friend of mine. [He] advises to bath, keep myself clean &c, and my health will be as good as ever was.

I will close by saying write me often, give me all the newes you can. Tell my friends howdy. Tell them If I live I intend to see them all in old Jackson Co. [I] will be among them as a voter of their county.

Nothing more, only kiss my boy. Eat some corn bread and butter for me as every time I sit down to Eat I think of home and what I would have if I were there.

Your ever remaining husband

LINDORF OZBURN

To Diza Ozburn remember me

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

News from home must have meant a great deal to the young soldier so far away. His wife's uncle, with whom she was staying, wrote some sound advice to a soldier in the Indian country, derived from his own experience in the Blackhawk War. John Logan was the prominent doctor of Jackson County, so his report on the baby son's growth must have pleased the absent father. At the time of this letter, Doctor Logan was a member of the 15th Illinois General Assembly. This was his fourth term as a legislator, and his interest in public affairs is manifest.

MURPHYSBORO, March the 16, 1848

DEAR NEPHEW

After a long absence from home perhaps you would like to receive a letter from your old friend and uncle and ant. I would have written oftener to you tho knowin as I do that Diza writes nearly every Mail and you havin so many friends and Relations to write to you, that is all the apollogy I have to offer for not writin oftener. I can say to you that we are all well and Diza and your boy are in the injoyment of the best kind of health. He grows the fastest you ever seen a child grow and now he can run about where he pleases. I think he will be able to catch your hors and Saddle him for you when you get home. Your unkle James, grandmother and Margaret are all well and we are all very anxiously looking forward for the time to end that will Restore you to your family and friends.

I think there is no doubt that peas is made. All the perticulars sofar as is yet known here is contained in John's letter and you can Read it. Tho perhaps before this or John's reaches you, you may have all the pirticulars By axsprass. They got the Knews by Tallagraff in too hours after it is known in Washington Citty and they will order an axsprass from St. Louis imediatly.

You will pleas Accept my harty and Devout thanks for your kind care and attantion on My son John in his illness as I am sure from the tanner of his letter he Must have died had he not had the best kind of atention.

If peas is made I judge you will all be Martched Back to Alton and there be Discharged. I have served three campains and that allways has been the case. I know if you Were Discharged in that country and

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start[ed] home helter scelter, the fourth man of you would never get home. I know the disposition of the Indians so well and it will be the spring of the year when the[y] will be pretty well starved out. Aside from all this it allways has been the case when our nation has been at war with any other nation and a peas is made, the Savag then become more ferocious than ever. I have thought the caus was the Nation we had been at war with then stimulated the indians more than ever and had recors to that Dastardly way for Reveng.

Be this as it may I want you all to be carefull on your Martch home and not scatter in Small Squads. If you do you will asuredly be cut off. You must Recollect that the darkest time of the nite is just before Day. A few traders coming throo without Molastation is no sign nor no garentee to the soldiers that they will not be atacked. You will have to pass in a season of the year when the Indians will be roving about in larg Bands huntin for Spoils.

I hope all our Boys will Regard this advise as coming from a friend who wishes all your Safe Return home to your familys and friends. Dear Lindorf, your friends and neighbors all wishes and Desires to see you all Return and your wife will hail that as the happest Moment of all her life.

I have sent some public Dockments to John and I want you to reed it with care. Give My love to all the Boys and say to them that no Man will be glader to see them than my self.

Dear Lindorf, take good care of yourself and you and John Stick together untill you return. This in hast from your sincear friend and uncle

JOHN LOGAN

*To Sergeant Lindorf Ozburn
Co H Col Newby's Regiment Illinois Vollintees
Santafee, New Mexico*

Peace was concluded, in line with the Doctor's predictions, but the 5th Illinois remained in service. Fortunately Sergeant Ozburn did not know that five months would pass before he could return to his wife and son. He was bearing with equanimity his honors as sergeant major.

LAS VEGAS, N M

April 30/48

I again make an attempt to write you a short letter as it has been but a few days since I wrote [and] told you all the Newes I had at that

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

time. But since that News has reached us that a peace has been concluded between our Government and that of Mexico, which gave me much pleasure as I expect I will soon be able to start home to join you once more in harmony and love. Some of the boys will start in a few days for home, Discharged for inability for the good of the Service (viz) Joseph Turk, John Robison, Jacob Rieger of our Co and some three others from other Counties. You will see some of them and they will give you more information and more to your Satisfaction than I can by writing an Epistle a week long.

Genl Price who left here a short time since has reached Chichuahua and had a pretty severe Battle at a little town 60 miles South of Chichuahua but only lost 3 men, the loss of the Enemy was some two or three hundred so reported. Col Gilpin has also had a brush with the Indians in about 60 miles of this place, routed them without the loss of a man, killed and wounded a great Number of the Indians. The women and children had hid themselves in some tall grass of a small ravine when the Indians took to flight and the boys run over them, killing and wounding them by horses hoofs. The number killed is not yet known.

I have been quite unwell some few days Caused by the Jaunders, but I think in a few days I will be over it. I also have a very bad cold which makes me quite unfit for duty at present. A few days ago I took a short trip after the Indians and it turned very cold, rained and snowed on us for two days. It may look quite Strange but it is certainly so that on the 22nd of this Inst. there was snow fell sufficient to cover the ground in the vallies and on the mountains it is two feet deep at this time. The health of the Company at present is tolerable good though Since my last [letter] another friend and Brother Soldier has [been] placed in the mountain Grave (James Eakin). He died of Fever and inflammation of the Lungs. All care posable was taken for his relief but to no effect as he was bound to die, though Lingered for some time in the Hospital. . . .

You wished to know if I held any other office. I can say I am acting Seargt Major of the Dt where I am station. [I] have no duties to Do only on dress Parade. It is with the Col whether my pay will be increased or not. I expect it will not. I could be Capt of the Company if there was a Vacancy as our Capt was arrested and it was thought he would be cashiered and if so I was the choice of the Company.

Nothing more; in haste. Your ever remaining husband

LINDORF OZBURN

*to Mrs Diza M. Ozburn
Murphysboro, Jackson Co. Illinois*

Home they finally came, and on October 18, 1848, the 5th Illinois was mustered out at Alton. General Churchill of the regular army gave the volunteers high praise: "I have never in my life mustered a regiment superior in sobriety and good order and conduct to that I have just been engaged in mustering out of the service. Both officers and men can equal the finest discipline found among old regulars."

Then it was back to Brownsville, and home. Early in 1849 Lindorf Ozburn formed a partnership with Thomas M. Logan, younger brother of his fellow soldier. Together they rented land for a term of three years, raised corn, and operated a horse mill. As millers they sawed lumber and ground both wheat and corn.

The business must have suited Lindorf Ozburn, for he was not tempted by an invitation to join the gold rush of '49. The writer of this letter had been first lieutenant in Ozburn's company during the Mexican service. His home was at the seat of Union County, adjoining Jackson on the south.

JONESBOROUGH, ILLINOIS
January 24th/1849

Mr Lindorff Ozburn

DEAR SIR

Your very welcome letter of the 27th Nov. last duly came to hand and was read with pleasure. I was much pleased to hear of the very good health of your Lady and darling boy and I did hope to of had the pleasure of seeing you all before this, but It appears to be utterly out of my power to leave home. [I] have contented myself in looking for you to come down, but have looked In vain. I hope however to see you soon.

Perhaps I may as well inform you here as any where else that there will be a company of 50 or 40 men raised in Jonesboro who will leave for Callaifornia Early this spring, of which I shall be a member. Capt G T Nacker will goe also.

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

Now sir If you wish to goe I should be much pleased to have your company crossing the plains again. In fact my appetite is so keenly set for a little buffaloe stake that I think long of the time. Add to this the Gold fever and you may guess in part my eagerness for the chaise. There is no gammon about this matter as such. If you will goe, come down, see for yourself and draw your own conclusions. As for my own part I have no hisitation in saying It is the best speculation that can be gone into.

You write that friend Jos Willis lefft you and others in the Lurch for a certain amount of money. In this, sir, you are not alone for he owes me \$26.50 for his uniforms which I bought in St Louis.

I have two waggon's now under contract for the Expedition and I intend highiring 3 or 4 confidential friends to goe with me. In fact I have 2 already imployed.

You wrote me that you had done nothing since you came home and that you did not know what to do. Now sir, If you will goe to Calla-fornia you will have something to do and be well rewarded for your labor. In my opinion It is the first step to fortion. At all events it is worth a trial and by this means you may may raise cash enough to cause the dogs to bark at you as you complain of being so poor that the dogs will not notice you.

The Book I wrote to you about was most probably left on boad the boat as Neither you, Mangold or myself has it. So I will come to a close. Please give my respects to your Lady & friends. Write to me as often as you have laisure and receive for your self for the preasant and future my best wishes.

Very respectfully your friend &c

JAMES J. PROVOST

PS The stump uppon which Capt Don santago made his speech was dug up and buried in honors of war. The boys fired 3 round ever it, gave I[t] 3 cheers and departed in peace and my pies and Roast Turkey all sowered and was thrown away for the want of some help to Eat them.

Adios senior

J J P

please come soon & bring your Lady & Mrs Ferguson with you. I have not paid the money due her yet, which should have been done Long since. Come down prepared to spend the week with me When we can have an oppertunity of talking over old times at our laisure & past time in Noeva mexico, Los Seniorittas &c.

JAMES J. PROVOST

Brownsville had been abandoned as county seat of Jackson County for the new town of Murphysboro, built on the farm of Doctor Logan. In 1854, Miller Ozburn decided to move his business to the more prosperous town. On the flats below Murphysboro, near the banks of Big Muddy, he built the Manufacturers' Mill. The townspeople rechristened it more simply, calling it the Lower Mill. Again Thomas M. Logan was a partner. Their flour went south along the river and north on the new railroad to the Chicago market.

A general store was their next enterprise. Interesting are the old bills of goods bought in St. Louis and Boston by the firm of Morgan, Ozburn, and Logan. One "ba'r coat" cost them \$6.75. Their profit in the sale is not recorded.

As a prominent merchant and miller, Mr. Ozburn began to take an interest in Democratic politics. He was appointed drainage commissioner for Jackson County. Great public improvements were projected where lakes and swamps covered part of the fertile bottom lands.

Cousin John A. Logan had been serving in the Illinois General Assembly, and in 1859 he was elected to the United States Congress. Mrs. Logan, at her husband's direction, urged Lindorf Ozburn to try for the vacant seat in the legislature.

BENTON [ILLINOIS]

March 20 [1860?]

FRIEND DOFF

I have been waiting for that other letter you promised to write but have come to the conclusion that you are too busy to write. I sit down to tell they held a convention here yesterday and they instructed for Mr Logan, endorsed Douglas [United States Senator Stephen A. Douglas] &c, but did not nominate a candidate for the Legislature as the people were not notified of the fact that they intended to in the call. But they intend nominating one in their convention to send delegates to Springfield. Mr Logan wants you to run, he writes me, and I hope you will.

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

We will try to fix for you to get the nomination of this county if you say so. I talked to a few influential men on the subject and they express a willingness to support you but still very few have been consulted, but I think if you say whether you will or will not run it can soon be fixed. I am under lasting obligations for your kindness in starting affairs there, but I hope you will not think me weak enough to "bite at Crow's bait." I feel as if he ought to be bumped. I only felt anxious about Mr Logan because some friends here were acting in bad faith. I am apprised of all his future plans and know he only wants to retain his present position now and has no desire for a higher one at this time.

My best love to all. Write soon.

in great haste your friend

MARY S. LOGAN

To Lindorf Ozburn, Murphysboro

Mr. Ozburn entered the race. But he was defeated by Peter Kiefer, also of Jackson County. A pointed anecdote is told of that campaign: Ozburn was a tall, dignified man of soldierly bearing. He wore the fine broadcloth and high hat of the town man. Kiefer was a rotund, untidy person with a pronounced "Pennsylvania Dutch" turn to his language.

The two candidates met on their canvass. Ozburn made a dignified speech. Kiefer listened with dejection in every line of his body. When Kiefer's turn came, he rose hesitatingly. His small hopes of success were made plain in stumbling words.

"I know I haven't a chance of election. Mr. Ozburn is a prominent man, every one knows him and looks up to him. Why, as I was riding my old mule through the swamp to this meeting, I even heard a great bull frog shouting the name of his candidate. He was saying:

"OZZBURRRN... OZZBURRN... OZZBURRRN"

"I was ready to withdraw from the race. What chance would I have? But do you know, when the big bull frog

had said his say, there was a minute's silence, and all the little frogs began to pipe, short and sweet:

" 'PeterKiefer, PeterKiefer, PeterKiefer.'

"So long as some of the little men are for me, I'll stay in the race to represent you at Springfield."

Peter Kiefer won the election.

Congressman Logan was reëlected in 1860, and presently he was writing home about the Battle of Bull Run, and his intention to raise a regiment in southern Illinois. He asked Ozburn's help, and through August, 1861, they were busy enlisting men for the 31st Regiment, Illinois Volunteers. The recruits were sent to Camp Dunlap near Jacksonville. But orders came that they were to go to Cairo to be mustered on September 18. Lindorf Ozburn seems to have made a sudden decision to join them, for he notified his wife of his enlistment from the railroad town nearest his home.

CARBONDALE

Sept. 13th, 1861

DEAR DIZA,

Much as I regret an absence from you and my little girls, I have just concluded to enter the army at least for a while. It is unnecessary for me to give you the reasons or causes as you are cognizant of the whole circumstances by which I have been surrounded for the past year, and no way on earth to help it, and I think my mind will be relieved for a time from the great Burdin that it has been laden with. I want you to become reconciled to this for my Sake, and fix Don up that he can go with me and I think you [can] take care of the other boys for a time at least. I will be up in about ten days or sooner. You may send me some shirts, and a pair of pants, my thick vest, my shawl and Two Blankets and a pillow which you can pack in a trunk and send over by Phillip and have them sent to me.

Tell the Boys, Gran and Kimball, to do the best they can with the mill until I come up when I will make some arrangements for it and them. Keep polly with you. I will furnish you with some money in a few days and keep you supplied better than I could at home. I will

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

write you again in a day or two. Tell the boys to sell flour for \$2 pr 100 lbs and to sell nothing only for cash except to Benoist who I owe.

Truly yours

L. OZBURN

I send you two orders which I think you will be able to get the money on and if you do for godsake use it for yourself and family.

L Oz

When his experience in the Mexican War was brought to mind, Ozburn was appointed regimental quartermaster. He seems to have had considerable freedom of movement during the Battle of Belmont, as he rode about to "see how a battle was fought." This was the engagement to which, General Grant writes, he sent his volunteers to be "blooded." Immediately after his return to Cairo, Quartermaster Ozburn sent a telegram to his wife announcing his safety. Two days later he wrote her a description of the battle.

CAMP MCCLERNAND, CAIRO
Nov. 10th, 61

DEAR DIZA

I at last will write you a few lines as I suppose you have had some anxious moments Since I seen you particularly the last few days. The troops from this point started from here, they knew not where until our boats pointed down stream below the Ohio river mouth, then it was said we was destined for a little town on Mo. [Missouri] side of the River (Belmont). We lay all night about eight miles above, next morning at daylight was on the way down the river again. We landed about 3 miles above Columbus on the Mo. side with 3500 men, immediately was formed into line of Battle, and felt our way along for about one mile, when we was formed into line of battle, sent out Skirmishers and found the Southerners well posted and ready to receive us. Capt Rees & Capt Somerville engaged them, when the main force was sent ahead. The fight became general about one mile and a half from their camp, Col John [A. Logan] taking the left wing, Buford the right, Fouke Dougherty & 7th Iowa the centre, encircling them almost completely. The fight became general and continued so until the Southerners began to retreat toward their camps which was done in good order, keeping up the

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fire until the northerners came within range of the guns from Columbus, when they gave the camp up and flanked right and left up and down the river leaving the camp to the Northerners. Then the Batteries began to play on our men, when they in turn began to retreat which at first was slow [and] in order, but became more and more uncontrollable, until all was in a mass of confusion, artillery, cavalry, Infantry, horsemen and all were in a state of confusion mixed and intermixed, dropping guns, coats, blankets, canteens, Havre sacks on their flight. John's Regiment [the 31st Illinois] took from here every man (700) a coat, Blanket and other equipments, and not more than about 50 brought any back. They captured our ammunition and provisions besides 3 wagons, 2 mules and Several horses at the time we was going aboard of the boats, for at this time Mr Secesh came up and commenced fire on us. While a portion was yet on the bank, myself among them, we rushed for the boat. (I was riding.) The boats commenced shoving off. I tried to rush my horse on but the Staging was dropping off the Bank. I left my horse and took to my heels, and got aboard. By this time the fire was general from the Boats and the Bank, and the gun boats was all that saved us from being shot like hogs. I lost my 4 Blankets, my Shawl, overcoat and vest, Saddle and Bridle.

The Battle is over. I think I seen more that was going on than any man on the ground, as I did not pretend to shoot a gun, but to see how a Battle was fought, and was on a good horse and rode all day (the Battle lasting 7 hours) from place to place. Often [I] was where the bullets flew like hail, and the grape and canister shot tearing limbs from the trees—but was unhurt. The Victory or Defeat I will leave for the papers to decide.

I think I will be home next week and will tell you all about it. I hope you and the children are well. I have been so sore and tired that I could not write before. I hope you will excuse me.

Give my respects to all my friends and love to children, and accept a kiss for yourself.

Your Husband

DOFF

At Christmas, 1861, Ozburn was granted a two-day leave to spend the holiday with his family. This tender letter to his second son, age eleven, shows his relations with his children.

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

CAMP McCLEARNAND, CAIRO

January 31st, 1862

Walstein Ozburn

MY DEAR SON

I again write to let you little boys know that I am quite well and think of you every day, and hope you are well and playing around like good little Boys and going to school and trying to learn, and staying home at night with your mother, keeping her and your little Sisters company, and trying to learn little Ally to talk, [to] Say mother and father. Tell Lilly and Lu I want to see them very Bad. I want them to grow and get to be Big girls before I come. So they can go to church with me, and So I can hear them Sing, at preaching.

Tell Don and John I want them to be good boys, and when I come home, we will try and run the mill ourselves, without any help. We can do it if we try, and then we can make some money. It is an awful dirty muddy place here now. I have about 150 mules and horses to attend to, and 25 wagons hauling every day. It makes me a great deal of work.

Tell your mother I want to see her and if the weather is not too bad, that I would like for her to come down and see me. I have not Recd any mony yet, nor do I know when I will. We are all fixed to leave here at any moment, but the weather is so bad I think we will hardly start until it gets better as we could hardly move now.

There is a great many soldirs here now and a great many boats. Write to me as soon as you can. . . .

Give my respects to all the little boys and girls about town.

I am truly

your father

L. OZBURN

Then came the winter campaign against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. The thunder of the guns could be heard through all the counties of southern Illinois. In the latter engagement, 260 men of the 31st were killed and wounded. Colonel Logan was promoted a Brigadier General. Lieutenant-Colonel John H. White of Marion was killed. Lindorf Ozburn assumed command.

BARBARA BURR

FORT DONELSON

Apl 6th, 1862

DEAR DIZA

I arrived at this place last evening. I found the men very much improved in health and spirits, though there is Some Sickness yet in Camps, but the general health is improved very much, and I was glad to See it.

There was an election this evening for Col. of the regiment, and I was elected unanimously and I will have to accept it. Diza, I hope you will approve of it as you know I am a little ambitious and want them at home to know that I am conducting myself in the army with credit to myself and the family of little boys and girls at home. I[t] will not cause me to stay any longer in the army than I would any how, because I have promised you I would come home as soon as I could, and I still intend to do so. . . .

I have but very little to write to you to night but will write every 3 or 4 days and I want you to write just as often as I can. I think I will come home in a few days again, at anyrate before we are moved from here, for I will spend all the money I make to see you. Maybe I will send for you to come up to this place and see me. You would have a fine trip if you had company, which I will try and provide for you, if I send for you. I must see you before long.

Tell the children about my promotion and teach them that they have gained something by it, and that I want to see them very much. Let Mary [Mrs. John A. Logan] and all the folks know of it as they will want to hear about it, and know if it is the fact. . . . John is a true friend and one that is lasting, to you and I. We have recd no money yet, and I am fearful will not until in May. . . .

L. OZBURN

The 31st remained on garrison duty at Fort Donelson until after the Battle of Shiloh. Then they joined the main army. The summer of 1862 was spent in guarding railroads near Jackson, Tennessee. North of that town a part of the regiment was attacked by a superior force, but beat off the enemy, and held their ground until reinforced. Colonel Ozburn hastened to the scene on a hand car.

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

A constitutional convention had met at Springfield in the winter of 1862 and now it was time for the voters of Illinois to approve or reject the new constitution. Andrew D. Duff, circuit judge, represented Franklin and Jackson counties in the convention.

JACKSON, TENN.

July 6, 1862

Judge Duff, Benton, Ill.

DEAR SIR

Your kind letter has just been recd and read carefully and contents duly noted, and in reply will congratulate you by saying, it meets with my views, and is in perfect harmony with them. I awaited the result of the election on the 17th on which I thought depended, as you wisely remarked, the next most momentous question to the Rebellion. And not only this but I thought that the adoption of the new Constitution in Illinois, my own native, and may truly add glorious State, would put under foot that black hearted "fanatical" Abolition party, to which the State of Illinois [is] about to fall a victim—"God forbid"—under the guise of Republicanism.

I feel gratified to hear that the friends of the men under my command are pleased with my promotion to the Colony of the gallant 31st Ill Infty. and my whole efforts will be used to sustain the exalted reputation they now sustain and I flatter myself That the regiment is just as efficient as it ever was in health and discipline. Now for the vote of these true hearted Soldiers who still have the old democratic principle which rankle in their breasts, and which will meet the applause of the old school at home.

The regiment is considerably reduced, by causes incident to war and camp life. We have 530 men now on duty in the field and of this number I put down 500 for the Constitution, and perhaps the balance may vote against it. And from what I can learn among the officers of other regiments of this corps there will be a majority for it. Though it has been reported currently, and erroneously too, that it is the work of the K. G. C. [Knights of the Golden Circle] the chief object of which is to retard the progress of the war &c &c, and there is hardly any news paper circulated among us except that damnable lying sheet the "Chicago Tribune". Every advantage and deception has been practiced, upon the

BARBARA BURR

unsuspecting soldier, to prejudice their minds against the Constitution. I tell the boys I want to see what kind of shaped being there is in the 31st Regt. that will dare vote against that document. You will hear a good account from us. Gens. Logan & McClernand are —— from what I can learn. Judge, I feel gratified that my friends have not lost confidence in me at home, and are willing to entrust me with work to do for that ever to be cherished principle, Democracy.

I will close by saying that I written the above without connection, but hope you will be able to comprehend what I mean.

Give my best respects to my old friends in Benton and the friends of the noble boys under my command. Say to them the health is good in the regiment, and we are at present pleasantly located in a handsome grove near the city of Jackson, Tenn. But we are the creatures of circumstance, where we will be a week from now is not for me to know. It is like a massive engine shop, with many wheels connected, and when the engine moves all move together, and when it (Gen Hallack) stops, all stands still.

I would be glad to hear from you often. Accept my kindest regards.

Respectfully yours

L. OZBURN

Colonel Ozburn's prediction was incorrect. The new constitution failed of the electorate's approval by a tremendous majority.

The agitation incident upon the proposed new constitution for Illinois and the President's Emancipation Proclamation caused much unrest among the soldiers. Colonel Ozburn spoke of some of the troubles in a letter, part of which has been lost.

LA GRANGE TENN

Nov. 23rd 1862

DEAR DIZA

I reached this place the evening of the same day I left home and found everything working along about as usual, though even in the five days a spark of insubordination had dropped in the regt. and to day I have arrested 2 officers and about 20 men and sent them to the guard house, and I intend to put a stop to it or fail in the attempt. It does not seem

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

to be from disrespect to me, but a desire to do as they please when I am absent. I got back all right, none suspecting me being at home, although I have told them all about it since I arrived. It was quite a pleasant trip to me to find my family well and enjoy their company even so short a time and my love for you caused me to run the risk. But I would not of Done it if there had been any probability of moveing forward or my services demanded on the field.

Well the main army is still at this place and still they come. Some talk of moveing forward but I do not know when, the weather is very fine though cool, but very little rain has fallen here. Nothing like the amount that has up there. . . .

So it is not surprising to learn that Colonel Ozburn asked permission to resign. As long ago as April 1862, when he announced his election as colonel, he had spoken of his wish to leave the army and go home. A fall from a horse had resulted in a physical disability which made it difficult for him to march or ride. From winter quarters at Memphis he wrote on January 31, 1863:

"I have sent in my resignation, but I do not know whether it will be accepted or not; if it does I will be home in the Course of 10 or 15 days."

Again from Memphis, on February 19, he wrote:

"I do not know whether I will come yet or not, as I have not heard from my papers yet, and we now have orders to move tomorrow morning at 9 O'clock. . . . I will come immediately if all comes out right. I want to come badly."

From Memphis Colonel Ozburn sent home his horse, with careful instructions on how that war-weary animal was to be treated. He kept a copy of the resignation from which he was so long in hearing.

HEAD QUARTERS &C

J. W. Miller

A A A GENL,

I most respectfully hereby tender by immediate and unconditional resignation as Colonel of the 31st Regt Ill Infy Vol, for reasons as follows, to wit

BARBARA BURR

The condition of my health is such that it renders me unfit for field service, and much as I do regret to surrender my command, I feel it a duty I owe to my Country and myself. I have as faithfully discharged the duties devolved upon me as my humble ability would allow. I have now served my Country near 3 years, 18 months in the Mexican war, and from the 8th Sep 1861 to the present. My regiment has never moved one mile without me since I have had command, and only for reasons herein set forth and the accompanying certificate, would I surrender the command of so gallant a body of men, at a time when my country Seems to demand the services of the most humble, and for above reasons most earnestly ask that my resignation may be accepted.

Most Respectfully

L. OZBURN Col. 31st Ill Infty

A medical certificate accompanied this resignation, which was accepted on February 24, 1863. Colonel Ozburn went home to Murphysboro at once. Diza and the children must have prepared a royal welcome for him, and the neighbors gathered to hear the news of the coming campaign, at Vicksburg.

The national elections of 1864 were already being discussed. Colonel Ozburn took a prominent part in the canvass as a Peace Democrat.

In March, 1864, the 31st Regiment was allowed a long-promised furlough, as reward for their gallant conduct at Vicksburg. Colonel Ozburn entertained many of them at his home. When the leave was over, the regiment gathered at Carbondale to entrain for Cairo and the scene of the summer campaign.

Colonel Ozburn went to Carbondale to say farewell to his former command. The citizens prepared a banquet and entertainment. A private soldier in the regiment, who bore malice for a disciplinary measure enforced by the former officer, struck him in the head with a pound weight from a scale. Lindorf Ozburn died April 28, 1864.

LETTERS FROM TWO WARS

Mrs. Diza Ozburn carried on alone in rearing their family and maintaining their home. Their sons and daughters aided materially in the growth and development of Murphysboro.

The surviving grandchildren of Lindorf and Diza Ozburn are Barbara Ozburn Rogers, Charles Ozburn, and George Ozburn.

These letters are published through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. George Ozburn, Murphysboro. Their son, George Joseph Ozburn, U. S. N., carries on the family tradition of service in the United States forces. Other members of the fourth generation of the family in Murphysboro are Martha Frances Ozburn Kimmel, Hope Ozburn Weatherly, and John Andrews Ozburn.

HISTORICAL NEWS

A general cessation of business and numerous public meetings marked Springfield's observance of the 128th anniversary of Lincoln's birth. On the evening of February 11 Governor Henry Horner, Governor George H. Earle of Pennsylvania and Dr. M. S. Rice of Detroit, Michigan, spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Mid-Day Luncheon Club. On the 12th the Abraham Lincoln Association held a public meeting at which the principal speaker was Pres. Harold C. Jaquith of Illinois College, and also a dinner at which Charles Nagel of St. Louis, Secretary of Commerce and Labor in the Taft Cabinet, spoke. During the day the Grand Army of the Republic, the Womans' Relief Corps and the American Legion made pilgrimages to the Lincoln Tomb. At the Tomb Harry W. Colmery, National Commander of the American Legion, delivered a short address. Governor Horner also conducted a group of distinguished visitors to New Salem, where Lincoln lived from 1831 to 1837.

At Athens, Illinois, on February 11, a centennial dinner commemorated the passage of the law transferring the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield. That transfer was accomplished by Sangamon County's nine representatives and senators—commonly known as the "Long Nine"—who were the guests of honor at a banquet held in Athens in 1837 after the adjournment of the legislature. An unusual feature of the dinner on February 11, 1937, was the fact that

HISTORICAL NEWS

it was held in the same building as the banquet to the "Long Nine" one hundred years earlier.

The dual centennial of Galesburg and Knox College was celebrated on February 15. At the Founders Day Convocation at the Central Congregational Church Dixon Ryan Fox spoke on "The Old Northwest," and Earnest Elmo Calkins on "Why They Listened to Lincoln." At the conclusion of the convocation the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Doctor Fox and Selden Gale Lowrie. During the day a collection of books, maps and views of Illinois one hundred years ago was on exhibition at Whiting Hall. A pioneer supper concluded the ceremonies.

The year 1837 was a notable one in the history of Springfield. On February 28 the law transferring the capital there from Vandalia was passed; on April 15 Abraham Lincoln became a permanent resident; and on July 4 the corner stone of the state house (the present court house) was laid.

To commemorate these events both the *Illinois State Register* and the *Illinois State Journal* published special editions on February 28, 1937. Both papers contain numerous historical articles relating to Lincoln and early Springfield, and both are distinguished by a large number of excellent historical photographs.

The eightieth annual meeting of the Chicago Historical Society, oldest museum organization in the city, was held at the Society's building on January 27. Charles B. Pike, president since 1927, was re-elected, as were the Society's other officers: Henry J. Patten, first vice-president; Frank J. Loesch, second vice-president; Cecil Barnes, secretary;

HISTORICAL NEWS

Paul S. Russell, treasurer; and B. A. Brannen, assistant treasurer.

Fifty representatives of historical societies in the Middle West attended the Midwest Historical Conference, held at the Bismarck Hotel, Chicago, on February 26 and 27. The program, which was largely informal, was featured by discussions of editorial practice, micro-photography, and various historical projects now in operation under the Works Progress Administration. Herbert A. Kellar, Director of the McCormick Historical Association, Russell Anderson of the Rosenwald Museum of Science and Industry, and Douglas C. McMurtrie were hosts to the conference.

The Geneseo Centennial, celebrated in 1936, has resulted in two publications of interest to students of Illinois history. One is a centennial history of the First Congregational Church, by Mrs. Ella Hume Taylor—a pamphlet of general interest because of the organic connection between this church and the Geneseo Colony. The other is entitled *Geneseo Centennial History, 1836-1936*, and is the work of a number of local authors. Included are accounts of the city's more important institutions and organizations, as well as the history of Geneseo itself.

The latest addition to that notable series, *The Lakeside Classics*, published by R. R. Donnelly & Sons Co., Chicago, is a reprint of *A True Picture of Emigration, or Fourteen Years in North America*, which was originally issued at London, in 1848. Relating the experiences of an English family in Pike County, Illinois, in 1831 and the years immediately following, the little book has long been recog-

nized as a valuable source for the early social history of the state. The recent reprint not only makes it more readily available, but also, by reason of a shrewd surmise on the part of Oliver R. Barrett of Chicago, confirmed by Jesse M. Thompson of Pittsfield, definitely establishes the question of authorship. The author was Rebecca M. Berland, wife of John Berland, who emigrated from Yorkshire to Illinois in 1831.

CONTRIBUTORS

C. C. Ritze lives in Detroit, Michigan. "During the last half dozen years or so," he writes, "I have intensified my study of American history. I have written two historical plays, one covering the Civil War Period and the other the Jacksonian Period. It was in the writing of the former that I was led into this study of Mrs. Lincoln." . . . Ernest E. East, of Peoria, is one of the officers of The Peoria Historical Society and a director of the Illinois State Historical Society. He is a member of the Peoria *Journal-Transcript* staff. . . . Fayette B. Shaw, whose home is Joliet, is a member of the faculty of Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin. His contribution to this number of the *Journal* follows closely a part of a study of Joliet submitted as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. . . . Barbara Burr (Mrs. Stanley Hubbs), claims Murphysboro as her home although she now resides in Chicago. She has had extensive experience in library work, and has published a number of articles on Southern Illinois history in the *Illinois Journal of Commerce*.

A NEW SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR HISTORIANS*

By

JAMES MONAGHAN

A new source of material for historians has been made available by the Works Progress Administration program in Illinois. A great quantity of material heretofore unknown, has been unearthed by the project in Chicago designed to study the contributions of the foreign language groups to the culture of the city. In addition to collecting data from interviews with old residents, the project has listed over eight hundred foreign language periodicals published in twenty different languages in the city since 1871,—a gold mine of source material practically untouched by research students.

Probably no historian in Illinois can read all the languages used in these publications, and if he could he would not live long enough to winnow the material of interest from the tons of printed paper. The purpose of the foreign language project, with its corps of translators, is to do this very thing, and within a year it is planned to have an index of all important items in the foreign press,—an index to the concrete contributions of each group as well as to its thought-habits as expressed in editorials, its attitude toward all problems of modern life, socialism, capitalism, nationalism, and the change in these attitudes since the great fire in 1871.

*This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Galesburg, May 14, 1937. Because of its immediate interest it is published here instead of in the *Transactions*, where it would normally appear.

A NEW SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR HISTORIANS

Ninety workers are employed in this gigantic task, accomplishing what would take two lifetimes of labor for one historian.

The study is sponsored by the City of Chicago, represented by a committee of five with Carl Roden of the Chicago Public Library as chairman. Other members of the committee are Dr. Bessie Pierce, Professor of History at the University of Chicago; Mr. Theodore Koch, Librarian of Northwestern University; Louis J. Owen and Floyd Hawkins. The translation required by the study is done by immigrants certified for relief. These people work under the immediate supervision of graduate students and young doctors of philosophy from Northwestern and the University of Chicago. James Monaghan is superintendent of the entire study. Thomas Randolph Hall and Lucile Windett have been selected as his assistants. Dr. Harvey Wish, Mr. William Cates and Mr. Simon Lax have organized the various studies. Under their direction the security workers are given employment scouring the foreign neighborhoods in which they are acquainted, hunting files of forgotten or suppressed newspapers in attics, cellars, old trunks. The material located is translated by a second group of workers, each of whom is furnished with an outline of subjects interesting to historians. With this comprehensive outline before them, the translators are instructed to convert into English every relevant item in the paper they are studying. Their translations are sent to the central office to be checked, coded and typed in duplicate for the files. When the study is finished the two typed copies and the original translation will make three complete files, one of which will be located at the Public Library, one at Northwestern and one at the University of Chicago. A cross-index of the entire file is being made on 3x5 inch cards, thus making available a complete

cross-reference to each topic in the outline. For example, a student interested in the craft union activities of the Jews, may look in the Jewish file under "Craft Unions." Here he will find translations of items concerning such organizations which have appeared in the different Jewish papers since 1871. If the student wants minor references to the same subject he will look in the card index under "Craft Unions." Here he may be referred to "Pageants and Parades," or "Musical Recitals," or some other subject in which craft unions played a minor part. The card will refer him to a definite newspaper and will state the place in the file where the translation may be found. The craft unionism of the Germans, the Lithuanians, the Italians—each of the twenty groups in the study—will be filed in the same manner, each under its respective language heading.

If the historian is interested in music he can consult the file of each language group under that heading and he will find an assembly of items dealing with the origin and early activities of symphony orchestras and bands. He can read each nationality's evaluation of its own Chicago musicians, together with intimate items about the early life of Modjeska, Theodore Thomas, Florenz Ziegfeld. He will find that there was a time when the Welsh people were the leaders of choral singing in the city, that the Poles and Czechs have been pre-eminent with stringed instruments, that brass is characteristic of the Scandinavians.

A research student in art, literature, athletics—any subject in the history of Chicago—has only to look in the file to find what has been printed about it in the foreign language press. A special effort has been made not to omit any of the diverse activities which have been a part of the life of the city. The index even goes so far as to include the atti-

tude of each foreign group toward a wide number of subjects which include secular and parochial education, the teaching of foreign languages in schools, temperance, social problems, women's rights, feminism, the home; attitudes toward large and small business, toward labor agitation; efforts to gain political influence.

The attitude of the foreign groups toward these subjects is very important in a study of the history of the city, for Chicago after all, is a city of foreigners with seventy per cent of its inhabitants either foreign born or the children of foreign-born parents. Statistics show that Chicago as a German metropolis ranks with the great cities of Prussia excepting only Berlin; that it contains more Poles than Warsaw, the capital of Poland. And yet many historians, lacking an ability to read a score of languages, have been obliged to neglect the source material which represents a majority of the city's population.

The election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 is a good example of the average American's restricted vision of the true life of Chicago. During the presidential campaign it was said that Roosevelt was supported by only one metropolitan daily, the *Times*. As a matter of fact he was supported by at least twenty foreign language papers, read by a substantial majority of the entire city, as the subsequent election showed so well.

However, it would be a mistake to consider the foreign language groups as all belonging to one political party. Almost all of the groups are divided into conservatives and radicals, with many individuals occupying middle ground. The radicals, in many cases, are broken into contending groups of anarchists, socialists and communists, who wage philosophical warfare in their journals. In 1904 the radi-

cal element among the Croats expressed themselves through a journal, *Radnicka Straza*, until it was suppressed in 1917. This paper reappeared under a different name within a year, but by the close of the World War its staff disagreed on the best way to create Utopia and the paper split into two organs, one communistic and the other socialistic, each violently opposing the doctrine of the other. This case is typical of the many short-lived radical newspapers which have been published in the city. The Russian press, during the last generation, shows a marked change in attitude. Before 1917, liberal-minded Russians in Chicago favored the revolution, but since that time many of them have become disillusioned and conservative. A change of opinion has also occurred among the Poles, who were nationalistic prior to the World War, and since the armistice, have been strongly American. The struggle between the Bohemians and the Germans to have their respective languages taught in the public schools of the city is one of the interesting political chapters of Chicago history.

One of the paradoxical incidents in the history of Chicago Germans is the newspaper account of Rabbi Chronik's activity in organizing a gigantic nationalistic demonstration in 1871, in which prominent Chicago Jews were made up to represent Bismarck, von Moltke and others. When items of this nature come to the editors' desks at the central office of the project, no comment is made, because it is not the purpose of the project to draw conclusions, to propound theories or delineate social trends. Its purpose is to merely assemble facts and points of view reflected in the foreign press, and to translate such material for others to judge.

As was to be expected, many incidents in the history of the city have come to light. For example, there is the mysteri-

ous mutilation of certain books in the public libraries during Woodrow Wilson's first presidential campaign. How this stealthy bit of sabotage was committed remains unfathomable. The known facts collected by the project's Italian supervisor, John Grotto, are as follows: In 1912 a large Italian daily in the city printed an editorial against Woodrow Wilson, citing a paragraph in his *History of the United States* which was not complimentary to immigrants from southern Europe. Such a statement was political nitroglycerin for a presidential candidate, and the 1918 edition of Wilson's book omitted the paragraph, but the publishers neglected to delete reference to it from the index. An investigation of the 1902 edition, which at the time of the election had been in the libraries for over a decade, disclosed the fact that some one with a sharp instrument had cut the offending page from the volumes in three Chicago libraries. Could this have been done by one of Wilson's campaign workers? Perhaps further study of the Italian press will tell! This is a sample of the unknown history that lies buried in American foreign language publications.

All students of history in Illinois remember the warfare waged by Mayor Thompson of Chicago, against the so-called distortion of American history. Had the mayor been able to read the twenty languages used in the press of his own city he would have found an interpretation of American history more radically different from the usually accepted story than anything printed in the books which offended him. In the Greek press he might have read that Alexander the Great discovered America, that an Italian, Columbus, rediscovered it, and that the Greeks soon afterward founded a colony in Florida. Reading further, the mayor might have learned that General Demetrios Ypsi-

lanti, a Greek patriot, was an outstanding figure of the Revolution in America; that Greek merchants were in Chicago eleven years before the town was incorporated; that a Greek-American, Colonel Lucas Miller, did his bit in the Mexican War, and that the Greeks in the Spanish-American War furnished an admiral named Calvocoresis.

Quite a different interpretation of American history may be gleaned from the Polish press. These people naturally stress the activities of the Revolutionary patriots, Kosciusko and Pulaski, and the subsequent conquering of the frontier by Polish soldiers—Captain Koscialowaski, who, before the coming of the railroad, guarded the Sante Fé Trail; and Col. Milo Kosterlitzki, the famous frontiersman, who, half a century later helped capture Geronimo, in the red man's last fight for the continent. Still another interpretation of history was printed by the Welsh people, who claim to have discovered America before Lief Erikson. The captain of the Mayflower, according to their editor, was a Welshman, as was Roger Williams; and Welshmen owned and operated the first printing press in America. We are told further that seventeen of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Welsh.

So in the early history of America almost every foreign language group claims that its nationals played a prominent part. The Chicago *Abendpost* announced that Abraham Lincoln was German, and the Chinese, in an article instructing their youths, wrote glibly: "After signing the Declaration of Independence our forefathers adopted the Constitution."

When the foreign language project was originally conceived, it was said that people on relief rolls did not have the scholarly training necessary for such a piece of research.

These apprehensions came from a lack of knowledge of the personnel available. Many intellectuals, exiled from Europe during the political upheavals of the last two decades, have found their way to America, and being in many cases past middle age, they have been unable to adapt themselves to the economic life of the new country. Such people have proved an invaluable asset to the project. After six months of operation the payroll contains the names of dispossessed noblemen, officers of defeated armies, at least one doctor of philosophy, one Phi Beta Kappa and the exiled chief of the Petrograd Municipal Library under the Czar. Such men, working under the supervision of trained graduate students from our universities, are certainly capable of accomplishing work of real historical value.

When completed, the entire index will fill some fifty volumes, and in addition there will be a bibliography of 800 to 1,000 periodicals published in foreign languages in the city since 1871. To conserve shelf room in libraries, and to insure the permanency of these records it is proposed to microphotograph the entire work. By this means a page ten inches high can be reduced to sixteen millimeters, and five big volumes can be put into a space the size of a thimble. The expense of filming is less than printing and binding, and the cost of projectors to restore the page to its original size is nominal. Already in Chicago two libraries are considering installing them. When the fifty volumes of material collected by the foreign language project are indexed, cross-indexed and preserved on indestructible film, historians will have a mine of source material available for years to come.

ONCE-GLORIOUS GALENA

By

ESTHER E. EBY

Outside of New England there are few towns in the United States that can boast of an appearance so completely unchanged from earlier days as can Galena, Illinois. Along its streets I see the very same stores and red brick homes that my grand-mother saw when in 1860, a child of ten, with her mother and two sisters, she embarked at Galena levee for Minnesota Territory. If Galena, which in the early 1840's and 50's numbered ten thousand population, had grown as did its rivals of early days, Chicago and Dubuque, no doubt its quaintness would have been swallowed up in its growth.

As early as the last decade of the eighteenth century, Julien Du Buque was mining lead in the vicinity of the city that now bears his name. Iowa was at the time part of the Louisiana Territory and Du Buque had permission from the governor of the territory to mine in that region. Western Illinois, while it had become a part of the United States by the cession of the Northwest Territory to the federal government in 1784, was beyond what was then our country's frontier. Unquestionably Du Buque's men heard of the lead mines which the Indians were working to a small extent, pushed over to the region near what is now Galena, and took out what lead they could, though they had no permission whatsoever from the United States government.

Early fur traders and missionaries had built cabins which they occupied seasonally along the banks of the present Ga-

lena River, but the first permanent settlement was made by fur traders in 1819 or 1820. They soon began working the surface lead mines previously worked by Indians and Du Buque's men, and news seems to have traveled east and south rather rapidly for these days that fortunes could be made in a time we should now call "over-night." That news brought a keelboat load of thirty men and their women and children from near Cincinnati. The names of the men are recorded in an old paper, but women and children were not considered of sufficient importance to be listed as individuals. These people brought with them seventy-five tons of freight, consisting of a complete mining outfit and provisions of all kinds sufficient to last a year. When the boat reached Galena, her passengers found one white woman in the little settlement of fur traders and miners. These pioneers in turn sent back word of their mining operations and incipient fortunes (they reckoned one bushel of lead as being equal in value to one bushel of corn); and by 1830 there must have been close to five thousand people in the vicinity of Galena, engaged in lead mining.

Lead was the metal of the frontier and was really more useful than gold to the frontiersman who needed it for rifles and shot. The nature of lead makes it more difficult to locate than most other metals if it is far underground. Rich deposits near the surface made mining easy and cheap in the Galena neighborhood. When these surface mines were largely exhausted, operations became too expensive to pay.

In 1831 a drop in the price of lead forced the pioneers to begin farming in order to stave off hunger. And farming is one of the causes of Galena's decline. The reason for this will be clear later. By the early 40's lead was again com-



VIEW OF GALENA ILL.

GALENA IN 1856

FROM A LITHOGRAPH BY E. WHITEFIELD

manding a good price, and the output of mines near Galena was amounting to well over a million dollars a year. The ore was smelted near the mines and shipped out as bars of pig lead. An early photograph shows these bars piled cob-fashion on the dock waiting transference to a river steamer. It was not an uncommon sight, according to the accounts left by early settlers, to see ten to fifteen river steamers tied up at one time at Galena wharves unloading supplies from St. Louis and New Orleans and taking on pig lead, supplies manufactured or sold wholesale in Galena, and passengers.

Co-existent with mining operations was another business which boomed Galena and which was largely responsible for its being; this was the river traffic. The importance of river towns in the early days is well-known. The keelboat load of 1823 had come from Cincinnati all the way by water. It is difficult for the present-day visitor to Galena to realize that the small stream of water which now trickles lazily through the town was once the famous Fever River.

The exact origin of the name Fever is uncertain. The early French fur traders and missionaries may have translated the Indian name "Mah-cau-bee" meaning "the fever that blisters" to Le Fevre. The Indians had similar cognomens for other waters in the region and English translations of these persist even today in such names as Smallpox Creek. But evidently the early residents of Galena did not like to accept a tradition so suggestive of the rather unhealthy climate of their settlement, and the legend grew up that the river had been called for a Frenchman named Le Fevre. No record can be found to indicate that such a man ever existed. Some years later, after the town had passed its heyday and the stream had become unnavigable for large boats, it was re-named Galena River.

ONCE-GLORIOUS GALENA

A map of Galena made in 1844 shows the river to have been about three hundred and fifty feet wide. All steamers came to Galena as they went up or down the Mississippi, and by 1845 it had become the most important commercial and wholesale distributing point north of St. Louis. Statistics of 1856 show that Galena did a larger wholesale business that year than Chicago. "1845-56 were Galena's halcyon days," said A. L. Chetlain, son of an early settler, in his *Recollections of Seventy Years*. By 1855 the steamers could no longer turn around at Galena, but backed out a distance of some seven miles to the Mississippi. During the decade from 1850-1860 there were from forty-five to fifty steamers plying the Mississippi according to the statement of an old riverman, Captain Russell Blakeley, in his *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota*.

Among the most colorful of the pioneers arriving in Galena in the keelboat of 1823 was a fifteen-year-old lad, Daniel Smith Harris, who later became a famous river captain. He lived until 1892, the oldest survivor of the 1823 company. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* for November 12, 1887, a paper published by a former Galenian, mentions Captain D. Smith Harris as having built and been interested in nearly one hundred steamboats. Numerous stories of his eccentricities persist. It is said that all the rivermen greatly resented the first crossing of the Mississippi by the Rock Island bridge, for they felt that the Father of Waters should remain unbound, as it were. In 1861, when Captain Harris himself was master of his boat *Gray Eagle*, she struck a pier of the bridge and sank to the hurricane deck. Due to the exertions of the master all but four persons were landed in safety, but the mishap so angered Captain Harris that he sold out "lock, stock, and barrel," as Galenians tell the



THE ELIHU WASHBURN RESIDENCE AT GALENA

story. On another occasion, when the *Gray Eagle* put into home port on her up journey, her captain was informed that a boat which had left Galena shortly before was carrying to President Buchanan, then at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, the message sent by Queen Victoria as the first Atlantic cablegram. It was suggested that, when he made St. Paul, Captain Harris should ascertain that the message had surely reached the President. The Captain proceeded on his journey and soon decided that he himself would be the man to convey the precious message. It happened that he had on board a large cargo of hams en route from St. Louis to St. Paul. By burning these and all other inflammable tonnage the captain got up so much steam that the *Gray Eagle* beat the other boat and Captain Harris was the first to deliver a cabled message to a President of the United States.

Other early inhabitants of Galena were the Swiss, who, urged by Lord Selkirk, had migrated to the Red River Colony, a small settlement north of Minnesota on the earl's grant of land, in 1821. The earl died, and promises he had made to the colony of grain and farm implements were never fulfilled. As a result they found life impossible and after a few years of bitter suffering set out for the United States. Most of them arrived at St. Louis and settled on farms. The climate of that region proved unfavorable to them; and spurred on by accounts they heard of lead mines in the Northwest, they departed for Galena or La Pointe as it was then called, arriving April 14, 1826. A number of their descendants still live in Galena.

Both French and German immigrants came following political disturbances of the time in Europe. The mines attracted a number of Cornishmen. Among those pioneers who were already American citizens, the architecture of the town seems to indicate a fairly even division of Yankees and

ONCE-GLORIOUS GALENA

Southerners. The presence of both groups brought about a rather tense situation in Civil War times because the Southerners had brought with them negro house servants who must no longer be called slaves but indentured servants, for slavery was prohibited in the Northwest Territory. In addition to these negroes were run-away slaves and freedmen who became dock and boat hands. As late as 1868 provision was made for a separate school for colored children. So, although Galena was Northern and loyal as its record of nine generals, including U. S. Grant shows, it was not so strongly anti-Southern as most Northern towns were. Among the negro population was one Swanzey (or Swansey) Adams listed in the 1854 city directory as a water drayman. At that time the town's water system was Swanzey's two-wheeled dray carrying three barrels and furnishing stores with river water at the rate of fifteen cents per week for one bucket a day. In this way Adams earned from a dollar and a quarter to two dollars per week for man, horse, and dray. He had come to Galena as a slave and had been subsequently hired to Captain Comstock, for whom he worked as a miner. He finally bought himself free for fifteen hundred dollars, although as he said: "Good boys like me could be bought in Kaintuck for three hundred and fifty dollars." Tradition has it that he discovered a lead lode that paid the price of his freedom. It was after this that he became the water drayman.

The most striking feature of Galena today is its quaint old homes located on the hillsides which slope steeply to what was once a sizable river. Whereas in the average town or city one counts the old houses, in Galena one counts the modern; and modern means a house only forty or fifty years old. The majority of houses in Galena are at least seventy-



INTERIOR OF THE STAHL RESIDENCE, GALENA

five years old. They are mostly of red brick, either in natural state or painted, with a trim of white paint and green blinds. Many are typical of the middle 1800's in all parts of the country, while others in their extreme simplicity very definitely suggest New England of an earlier period. Frequently one sees the tall white-pillared portico and iron-grilled balcony so characteristic of the South. Picket and elaborately wrought iron fences exist side by side, although fences have disappeared from most yards. There are some hideous examples of modernizing, notorious among these being the Jo Daviess County court house. Some years ago the Grecian pillars of its portico were removed from the old building of native stone, and a new and enlarged front of modern brick added. But fortunately for Galena and for those of us who love to scramble up and down its narrow streets and steps, very little modernizing has been done.

The furnishings of these homes were chastely elegant and in some cases even luxurious. Much of the furniture was made in Galena by cabinet makers of German origin, although some people brought their household goods with them. Imported furniture might be of Eastern or Southern or even English make. Upon his arrival from St. Louis in 1860, U. S. Grant is said to have left the boat carrying a couple of chairs in each hand—an act which signified that another family had come to Galena to live. Wallpaper, carpets, and textiles of all kinds were imported from Boston or New York, usually via New Orleans or St. Louis, or from New Orleans itself. Needless to say, both hooked rugs and rag carpets were in common use. Even a cursory glance at the contents of the town's antique shops reveals that table appointments and bric a brac equalled other furnishings in elegance.

No account of Galena would be complete without mention of at least two of the oldest churches and one hotel. The 1854 directory lists some fourteen or fifteen churches, including an African Methodist—a goodly number for what must have been in some respects a rather rough mining and river town. The first Presbyterian service was held on May 10, 1829, by the young missionary Aratus Kent. The present First Presbyterian Church, erected in 1838, shows that its members were Easterners who wished their church to possess the dignified simplicity of those they had known “back home.” The corner stone of the present Grace Episcopal Church was laid in April, 1848. The building is constructed of native stone, hewn out of the hillside, and stands in the opening from which its material was taken. Its architect was C. N. Otis of Buffalo. R. Geissler of New York carved from black walnut the rare altar and reredos and installed the stained glass windows. Later Marshall Field and Company sent their most skilled artists to decorate the chancel, sanctuary, and body of the church. All of this fine workmanship has given the edifice a jewel-like quality rarely found in American churches.

Outstanding among the numerous hotels of which early Galena boasted was the De Soto House which, as the town’s newest, is still her leading hotel. It was completed in 1853 at a cost of approximately one hundred thousand dollars for building and furnishings. In more recent years the upper two of its five stories have been removed. In its parlors Jennie Lind sang on her American tour. From its balcony in 1856 an unknown man from “down state” advocated the election of John C. Fremont for president. A collection of twenty dollars was taken to defray his expenses; but Lincoln, for it was he, refused the money, saying his expenses

would not be such a large sum. The hotel was used by Grant as headquarters both before and after the war, and several of Galena's generals and other notables frequently occupied suites in it. The huge ball room on the top floor was the scene of many a brilliant affair.

The completion of the railroad in 1854 or 55 brought a flood of emigrants bound for Minnesota Territory. But the railroads were an early note in Galena's death knell, for wherever railroads went, river traffic soon fell off. Then, too, the cultivation of the surrounding territory caused the soil to wash down the steep hillsides into the river bed until now sixty to ninety feet of silt fills a channel once deeper than the Mississippi's. To these facts add the centering of railroads in Chicago on the shores of a great inland sea; the exhaustion of surface lead mines; an almost complete cessation of westward migration; a decrease in the number of articles manufactured locally from perhaps twenty-five to one or two; a similar decrease in the number of wholesale houses, breweries, hotels, and smelters;—consider these and you will understand why Galena now counts her inhabitants some six thousand fewer than the ten thousand of whom as a frontier city she was once able to boast. But if she did nothing save sleep on her hillsides and dream of her romantic past, her existence would be justified; for she is friendly, quaint and wholly delightful.

THE ILLINOIS RAILROAD AND ITS SUCCESSORS

By

JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

One hundred years ago this summer of 1937, the Honorable John Reynolds of Belleville, was looking for new worlds to conquer. He had completed his term as governor of Illinois; he was about to retire from the United States House of Representatives; and he had no immediate occupation in prospect.

He decided to build a railroad.

At this time no rail had yet been laid in the state of Illinois. However, the railroad idea was in the minds and on the tongues of people throughout the United States. Many railroad schemes had been projected, and several companies had obtained charters from the various states. The mileage of American railroads in 1835 was 1,098, practically all of it east of the Alleghenies.¹

Whether the idea of the Illinois Railroad was entirely that of Reynolds is disputed. The argument as to the originator of it lies, like many St. Clair County historical arguments, in the long rivalry between Belleville and East St. Louis. Reynolds certainly claimed the credit, and it is generally given to him. However, Colonel Vital Jarrot of Cahokia and East St. Louis was probably at least equally responsible for the undertaking.²

¹There were 5 miles in Louisiana, 45.5 in Alabama, 2.5 miles in Indiana. The first link of the Illinois Northern Cross Railroad was opened in 1838. *Encyclopedia Americana* and other sources.

²*East St. Louis Gazette*, June 2, 1877.

The railroad was organized, not as a corporation, but as a co-partnership. There was no state charter and no state subsidy. Reynolds said: "I had a large tract of land located on the Mississippi Bluff, six miles from St. Louis, which contained in it inexhaustible quantities of bituminous coal. . . . I had also most of the land on which a railroad might be constructed to convey the coal onto the market. Under these circumstances, a few others with myself decided to construct a railroad from the bluff to the Mississippi opposite St. Louis."³

The partnership arrangement was effected by a group of deeds, all executed March 29, 1837. There were five partners: John Reynolds, Vital Jarrot, Samuel B. Chandler, George Walker and Louis Boismenue. Chandler was the husband of Reynolds' step-daughter. Boismenue was a relative of Jarrot. By the group of deeds, each of the partners conveyed to all the others an undivided four-fifths interest in the property which he was investing in the enterprise.

Reynolds' investment covered a 200-acre tract of coal lands and some other real estate. It was valued at \$40,000. Walker put in 182 acres, valued at \$2,000, while Chandler invested his interest in a 200-acre coal tract, valued at \$10,000. Boismenue conveyed a large tract described by metes and bounds which was valued at \$45,250.

Jarrot was apparently the owner of the railroad right-of-way, which is described as follows:

One hundred feet wide, from the Mississippi Bluff, having the railroad in the center and extending with the said railroad northwesterly to the arpent land, which the said Jarrot purchased of Hays, and there extend-

³All quotations from Reynolds are taken from his book, *My Own Times* (Reprint, Chicago, 1879). Most writers in dealing with the Illinois Railroad have contented themselves with copying this account.

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ing to the Levee being 110 feet wide and having the southwesterly line of land heretofore appertaining to the said Jarrot as the Southwesterly line of said 110 feet—and 151 feet from the commencement of the curve to the said Levee to be added to said 110 feet and 90 feet wide from the Levee to Cahokia Creek.

There was also conveyed to the partners 123 acres of land owned by Julie Jarrot, mother of Vital Jarrot, which was valued at \$30,750.⁴

The route of the railroad, as it was built and as it continued for a long time, began in the southern part of the present city of East St. Louis, near the eastern approach to the St. Louis Municipal Bridge,⁵ and ran northeasterly to what is now 10th Street and Railroad Avenue. Thence it ran southeast to the coal lands on the Bluffs. Across the eastern part of the right-of-way lay a large swampy lake called by the French, "Grand Marais."⁶

The work was begun in April, 1837. In the course of the summer a number of letters were written to the *Missouri Republican* of St. Louis, which described the progress of construction. It should be observed that, at that time, the certain way in which to get information about one's activities printed in the newspapers was to write it and send it in. The editor wrote practically no local news himself.

The contributions on the Illinois Railroad bear various pseudonyms, but they are written in a style resembling that of Reynolds' published works. The first letter⁷ begins: "It may be gratifying to the public, and particularly to the citi-

⁴See Book of Deeds J in the office of the St. Clair County Recorder at Belleville, Illinois.

⁵Completed in 1917.

⁶This was known after the building of the Railroad as Pittsburgh Lake. It is the chief feature of Lake Park, East St. Louis.

⁷*Missouri Republican*, July 3, 1837.

zens of St. Louis to know that the above improvement is progressing with steady and certain pace. Facts which are under the eyes of the people of St. Louis will exhibit the onward march of this road and if persevered in will insure its completion in September or October.

"There is more than one-half of the grading completed, and the balance under contract and in rapid progress to completion. Almost one-third of the piling is finished. The machinery made and timber on the ground to construct the whole crossing of the lake. All of the timber to make the whole road five and one-half miles is now on the river bank ready to be cut and hauled, for the work."

In this first letter there are included complimentary remarks concerning the grading contractors. "The contractors for the grading are men of the first order of character for energy and industry—they have pushed the grading in good and in bad weather much like a soldier would charge on an enemy in battle."

Later, however, two grading contractors in succession threw over their contracts without completing them. The partners of the railroad were forced to finish the work themselves.⁸ At this time there were between 60 and 100 hands working on the railroad. Reynolds said: "The members of the company themselves hired the hands—at times one hundred-a-day—and overlooked the work. They built shanties to board the hands in, and procured provision and lodging for them."

A saw mill was erected in Illinoistown (now East St. Louis). Of this it was said: "This mill has cut some two to three thousand feet in twelve hours and besides doing the

⁸*Missouri Republican*, October 5, 1837.

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work for the railroad will also be able to furnish much lumber for building.”

It must be understood that the whole road—rails and all—was built of wood.

The eastern terminus of the railroad, was, as has been stated, a tract of coal land which belonged to the partnership. On this land the proprietors laid out the town of Pittsburg.⁹ Lots were offered for sale in August. The proprietors thus described the place in advertising the lots for sale:

Pittsburg is beautifully situated on a high and commanding eminence in St. Clair County and the State of Illinois at the termination of the railroad which connects this town with the Mississippi opposite the City of St. Louis in Missouri. There is no town in the state that possesses so many advantages to the commercial and manufacturing public as Pittsburg does; and an intelligent community will appreciate the same.

The railroad which is in rapid progress to completion, will in effect place this town on the bank of the river. A locomotive will be put on it during the next season, which can traverse the distance to the river in twelve or fifteen minutes with fares conveying passengers and freight so cheap so that a liberal public will not perceive it. Therefore this place has the advantages of a river location together with a region of country surrounding it with more wealth and particularly mineral wealth than any other in the state.

In this town and the neighborhood adjacent to it, there are inexhaustible quantities of stone coal existing in strata extractable without almost any labor at all. The cheapness of the fuel will insure the establishment in this town of furnaces, foundries, steam mills and manufactories—it will be cheaper to convey the wheat and the materials to the mills and foundries than the coal to the river to them. The vast quantities of coal in this neighborhood and the great facilities to establish factories in this

⁹See plat in Book of Deeds J, p. 84, at Belleville, Illinois.

place induced the proprietors to call it Pittsburg in honor of that wealthy and respectable city of the same name in Pennsylvania.

To carry on and sustain the railroad of itself will build up a town. It will require a great number of hands and a vast sum of money expended on the route to enable the proprietors to convey to the river one million or one million and a half of bushels of coal in the year.¹⁰

In the meantime Jarrot had sold half his interest in the railroad to one Daniel Pearce. Thomas Toner had acquired an interest in the enterprise in some way, while Boismenue had been bought out.

The letters to the *Missouri Republican* stressed the prospective importance of the railroad in furnishing St. Louis with abundant coal at a reasonable price. "Estimating but the quantities of coal used in the city during the last year, it is almost certain, that one million of bushels would be consumed in the next year if it could be furnished. The plentiful supply of no one article will advance the interest of the city so much as that of coal. Hence the importance of it and the necessity of having always in the city an abundant supply of it at a fair price. If a million bushels be used in a year, each cent on a bushel will amount to one thousand dollars. It is at this time sold at 14 or 16c the bushel. It will amount to 140 or 160 thousand dollars per annum. Suppose that we reduce it to twelve and a half cents; what a great difference in the whole amount? Reduce the price to 10c—and the city would gain more than \$50,000 annually in the one article of coal, besides other advantages greater than that to the city."¹¹

It is apparent from the letters that the proprietors were growing desperate for ready cash toward the end of the

¹⁰*Missouri Republican*, August 7, 1837.

¹¹*Missouri Republic*, July 17, 1837.

summer. They appealed for help from the city and the citizens of St. Louis.¹²

Meanwhile the railroad itself was one of the principal objects of curiosity in the neighborhood. Crowds of people came out to watch the construction. Most of them predicted that the road would never be finished, and that the proprietors would break financially under the effort.¹³

The railroad cars arrived from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the early fall, but the railroad was by no means ready for them. However, the proprietors wrote cheerfully: "The work is progressing even better and with more rapidity than the proprietors anticipated. The lake which is 2,200 feet across, is piled and the bridge on the piles is in progress—the timber for the bridge is all on the premises, and an excellent workman engaged to build it. It will be completed in a few weeks. The work in this lake was both tedious and expensive—some of the piles were sunk into mud upwards of 80 feet and were three lengths of timber."¹⁴

Reynolds wrote later: "We put three piles on top of one another, and fastened the ends together. We battered the piles down with a metal battering-ram of 1,400 pounds' weight."

The financial straits of the proprietors were increased by the panic that broke over the country in 1837, carrying many railroad plans down with it. They were absolutely unable to obtain any money from Eastern bankers, but they were supported by the people of their own state "in a manner for which they will forever feel grateful."¹⁵

¹²*Missouri Republican*, Oct. 5, 1837.

¹³*My Own Times*, 322.

¹⁴*Missouri Republican*, Oct. 5, 1837.

¹⁵*Missouri Republican*, Nov. 16, 1837.

As the fall drew to a close, the early completion of the railroad became a certainty. The piles were in the lake; a trestle had been built on top of them. The remainder of the road, east and west of the lake, was completed. "In structure it was a crude and cheap affair, but yet it was a railroad, having longitudinal wooden rails, six by eight inches square [*sic*], without iron, for the car wheels to run on. The motive power was horses."¹⁶

On Thursday, December 7, 1837, the first tiny horse-drawn railroad car ran six miles over the wooden rails from Illinoistown to Pittsburg. The *Missouri Republican* declared, this time in its own name: "The railroad from the ferry landing opposite this city to the coal mine is now in full tide of successful operation. The first car commenced running Thursday last."¹⁷

The later history of the Illinois Railroad is a fantastic series of ups and downs.

The proprietors had conquered nature; to that extent they had contradicted the prophecies that had been made concerning them. But the other prophecy came true. They were broken men.

The cost of the railroad, aside from the contributions of land, was approximately \$50,000. The partners were unable to keep it going. After several transfers of interest, all the real estate and personal property of the railroad came into the hands of William C. Anderson of St. Louis, in the summer of 1838.¹⁸ Governor Reynolds' personal loss was \$17,000.¹⁹

¹⁶J. F. Snyder, *Adam W. Snyder and his Period in Illinois History* (Virginia, Illinois, 1906), 231.

¹⁷*Missouri Republican*, Dec. 13, 1837.

¹⁸See Deeds recorded at Belleville, Illinois.

¹⁹Snyder: *Adam W. Snyder*, 231-32.

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Anderson organized a corporation, the St. Clair County Railroad Company, and secured a charter from the General Assembly in 1841.

The new company rebuilt the track, spiked strap iron on the rails, and substituted a primitive locomotive for the horsepower; but still it could not be made to pay, and in a few years was abandoned. The ties and rails were sold, or carried away by adjacent settlers in the Bottom; the culverts rotted and fell in, and in a short time every trace of that pioneer railroad disappeared, excepting the long double row of oak piles that stretched across the lake. Divested of their superstructure they stood there, resisting the destructive agencies of water and weather, for many years, melancholy reminders of a blasted enterprise that in its failure presaged the coming of a new and grand era for Illinois.²⁰

Activities revived after the corporation was re-organized in 1859 as the Pittsburg Railroad and Coal Company. In 1865 its name was changed to the Illinois and St. Louis Railroad and Coal Company.²¹ At that time it was said:

A great improvement and a very valuable one, not only to this city (East St. Louis), but to the country at large, is the successful operation of the Illinois & St. Louis Railroad and Coal Company (called the Pittsburg Coal Road). It is, under another name, the oldest railroad in the state—the first one in the west which was built for the express purpose of bringing to market the treasures of the extensive coal fields underlying so largely a part of our state and which, since their development, have so materially added to the present prosperity of the west. In spite of several vigorous attempts, the company failed, until now, in attaining the success so well deserved; whether the undertaking was premature, or for want of means or talent to develop it properly, we will not now inquire—one thing is certain, it was left for the present stockholders of the company and the superior business tact of their president, Mr. John S. McCune, assisted by his efficient superintendent, Captain Silas Heaight [sic], to bring it to its present perfection. Some time since their daily product averaged 5,000 bushels, while the aim of the company is to increase it gradually to

²⁰*Ibid.*, 232.

²¹*History of St. Clair County* (Chicago, 1881).

15,000 bushels at least. The economy with which they now bring coal to market is a sure guarantee of its future success.²²

During all this period the line ran simply from the Wiggins Ferry landing to the village of Pittsburg on the Bluffs, just as it had originally been laid out. Meanwhile other railroads had been built from coast to coast and from North to South. The Illinois & St. Louis Railroad determined to expand—at least eight miles. Arrangements were made to build the line from Pittsburg to Belleville.²³

The city of Belleville undertook to help finance the extension, if the cars ran into Belleville before New Year's Day, 1871.

The building of the extension was in many ways as serious an engineering project as the original construction of the railroad in 1837. It was necessary to cut through the bluffs, and in one place to build a long trestle across a "washout." The first Illinois & St. Louis train—which, incidentally, was its first passenger train—rolled triumphantly into Belleville on New Year's Eve, 1870.

For twenty years more the Illinois & St. Louis Railroad remained fifteen miles long.

In 1877-78 the railroad engaged in a violent controversy with the City of East St. Louis. When the railroad was originally projected in 1837, one John L. St. John owned a tract of land in what is now East St. Louis. He laid out a subdivision on it, the Town of St. Clair.²⁴ The plat of

²²*East St. Louis Gazette*, June 28, 1866.

²³The village of Pittsburg, or Pittsburg Hill, never fulfilled the proprietors' dreams, but it was for some years a well known coal mining center. It has completely disappeared. See my article, "The Lost Village of Pittsburg Hill", in *East St. Louis Today*, March, 1934.

²⁴See plat in Book of Deeds I at p. 328, Belleville, Illinois, and text of court opinion in *People ex rel Bowman v. Illinois & St. Louis Railroad*, quoted in *St. Clair Tribune*, July 14, 1877.

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this subdivision shows a street called Railroad Street, which was intended to carry the Illinois Railroad of Jarrot and Reynolds, down to the river directly, instead of by the roundabout route on which it was actually built. The line planned was, however, not built until forty years later. In the meantime passengers on the Illinois & St. Louis were forced to go to the outskirts of the city to board the train. The city claimed that the right-of-way had been forfeited.

The railroad fight progressed through litigation and direct action in the midst of a period of sensational political activities in East St. Louis. Some of the episodes were described by contemporaries as follows:

Last night many of our citizens when they heard of the contemplated undertaking met at the terminus of the track near the rock road;²⁵ determined to resist any attempt by the company to make the intended extension. This morning about four o'clock the attempt was made by the company to lay the track; it was resisted successfully by the deputy marshals and citizens and a fence was put up immediately in front of where the company desires to run their track. Should the fence be torn down and an attempt be made to put the tracks down there will be trouble. Let every citizen who feels an interest in the matter be on hand and do his duty.²⁶

The mayor stated that he had for some time past feared that the Illinois & St. Louis R. R. Co. would attempt to lay tracks on Railroad Street during the night, and although Mr. Branch, the president of the company had assured him that nothing of the kind would be done, yet he placed so little confidence in the word of a man who spoke for a corporation that he had taken the precaution to place a special policeman on that street to sound the alarm should the railroad company attempt such a proceeding.²⁷

²⁵Familiar name for the St. Clair County Turnpike from Belleville to East St. Louis, which intersected proposed route.

²⁶*East St. Louis Gazette*, June 8, 1878.

²⁷*St. Clair Tribune*, June 1, 1877.

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They proceeded with their work until they had put down their tracks across Main Street. At that stage of the proceeding Mayor Bowman drove up in his buggy and stopped his horse on the ground over which that company desired to lay their rails. An armed crowd of roughs from St. Louis were about to force the Mayor from his position when citizens warned them to do so at their peril. The work stopped at once and a few moments afterwards, the property owners, Deputy Marshals and others tore up the ties and threw them into a pile and set fire to them. The negroes, nearly two hundred, who had been brought here by the railroad Company offered no resistance when informed that there was an injunction in force against the laying of the track. The iron and some of the ties were brought to the market house. During the trouble one or two knockdowns took place, but no one was seriously injured.²⁸

It was insinuated that Mayor Bowman's opposition to the railroad arose from the fact that it had not retained him as attorney, whereas other railroads, which had done so, were granted privileges by the city.

The railroad employees eventually succeeded in laying the tracks by night. The Illinois & St. Louis Railroad was thus enabled to run its trains into the Relay Depot and to connect with Eads Bridge to St. Louis which had been completed in 1874.

In 1890 the Illinois & St. Louis Railroad was absorbed into the Louisville, Evansville & St. Louis, familiarly known as the Air Line. In that year the first through train to Louisville ran over the historic route. The Air Line became part of the Southern Railroad System in 1900.²⁹

But all these later adventures seem to be an anti-climax to the unmatched story of the crazy courage and self-reliance

²⁸*East St. Louis Gazette*, July 27, 1878.

²⁹See newspaper index at East St. Louis Public Library under "Southern Railway System." The present route of the Southern from Belleville to East St. Louis differs considerably from those used by its predecessors. However, it still uses Railroad Avenue (Street).

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of the proprietors of the Illinois Railroad, who "graded the track, cut and hauled the timber, piled the lake, built the road and had it running in one season of the year in 1837."

NOTE: This study originated in a question in my mind as to just how far Governor Reynolds' account of his railroad building achievement could be relied upon. I have found that it is perfectly accurate. For the use of the *Missouri Republican* of 1837 I am indebted to the Missouri Historical Society. Mrs. F. W. Reynolds lent me "*Adam W. Snyder and His Period in Illinois History*."

My aunt, Miss Josephine Marion, assisted me with reminiscences of the old village of Pittsburg, Illinois, where she was reared.

References for the period from 1865 to 1900 are based on the files of East St. Louis newspapers at the East St. Louis Public Library. These files have been, since November 1935, in course of indexing for historical information with funds furnished by the Works Progress Administration, first under myself as superintendent, and now under Miss Catherine McDonald. I should like to call the attention of historical students to the advantage of this procedure in making it possible to refer immediately to material desired. Miss Loretta LaValle and Miss Mildred Druzich assisted me in compiling notes and in other ways.

THE 130th INFANTRY, ILLINOIS NATIONAL GUARD A Military History, 1778-1919

By

MAJ. WALTER SHEA WOOD, U. S. A.

The purpose of this summary is to present to the reader a connected account of the military operations carried on in the interest of our country by the militia of the southern counties of the state of Illinois. To do this is to tell the early history of the state and to trace its development from the days of the French discoverers to the present time, since the story of the citizen-soldier is so interwoven with the story of the state that one cannot tell of the former without describing the latter.

The narrative sets forth the record of those militia units raised in those counties of Illinois now included in the regimental area of the 130th Infantry. We desire to show that these units were again and again raised in the same localities, that the same men, their neighbors or descendants served in these organizations, and that they were in fact the parent organizations from which has come this present regiment of National Guard.

The record of the deeds, the accomplishments, the suffering and the glory of these earlier citizen-soldiers is written down that the citizen-soldiers of today who follow in their footsteps may know the spirit of patriotism and the devotion to American ideals which imbued their predecessors and made possible the America of today.

The outbreak of the war between the colonies and the mother country found the French settlements on the Mississippi, within the present boundaries of Illinois, with their militia companies organized under British command. The first regular military operations undertaken within the present area of Illinois were those of George Rogers Clark, an officer of the Virginia militia. After the capture of the French settlements the French militia swore allegiance to Virginia and served under Clark's command against the British and the Indians.

After the transfer of the area to the United States as a part of the Northwest Territory the militia of the area was organized as territorial militia and this organization was carried on when the Illinois Territory was formed.

Repeated calls on this militia were made during the War of 1812 and its activity in cooperation with the small regular force operating in the area defeated the British attempts to destroy the settlements on the western frontier.

Upon the organization of the state government the organization of the militia was further perfected and in the Indian Wars of 1827, 1831 and 1832 it furnished the bulk of the force that operated against the hostile Indians.

At the outbreak of the war with Mexico the militia formed the pool from which the first four regiments of Illinois volunteers were drawn.

Again at the call of President Lincoln for the first six regiments from Illinois it was the militia of the state from which this force was drawn.

The year 1873 saw the general reorganization of the militia from which they emerged State Guards—the same organization but improved and modernized. This new militia

furnished Illinois' first troops in the war with Spain. Re-organized as National Guards they furnished the state troops for the Border Service of 1916 and for the World War.

ORGANIZATION OF MILITIA 1779-1873

The first militia in the present area of the 130th Infantry was organized by the French and inherited by the British after the French and Indian War. The units were absorbed into the American forces after the capture of the Illinois Country by General Clark in 1778 when the area was reorganized as the County of Illinois of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The first American laws providing for the organization and regulation of the militia of the area were those of Virginia and these were in turn followed by the laws of the Northwest Territory, the Indiana Territory, the Illinois Territory, the State of Illinois, and the United States.

In order to understand the operation of the militia, it is necessary that one have a clear comprehension of the fundamental principles upon which the organization was based and which governed its operation.

In the first place, the militia constituted the armed force of the state which was at the disposal of the Governor, and in 1795 the President of the United States was granted the right to call upon the militia under certain circumstances. This militia consisted by law of all able-bodied men of military age, the ages prescribed varying from time to time, and was divided into the active and inactive militia. The active militia consisted of those banded together in companies, battalions, regiments, etc., and the inactive of all others subject to military duty.

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The organization and administration of the militia was through civil officers known as county lieutenants. The organization was by county and was effected for training, supervision and administration and for purely local defense.

When it was necessary for the state to raise troops for a campaign or expedition these units were not called to duty as such. Requisition was made by the Governor on the various counties through the county lieutenants for their proportional share of the total to be raised. These county lieutenants then caused their county militia to be mustered, and from the companies of county militia they furnished their quota. The method of securing the quota varied but the general system was to ask for volunteers and the men furnished as the county quota were volunteer militia.

These county drafts with their proper proportion of officers then reported to the appointed state rendezvous where they were organized into companies and regiments and elected their officers for the coming period of service. These units so organized were in general known as the volunteer militia. Upon being mustered out of active service they reverted to their original status of county militia.

This system was inherited from Virginia and continued in Illinois until the reorganization in 1873. At that time the State Guard took the place of the old "active militia" and was in turn supplanted by the National Guard.

An examination of the records should prove to anyone that since the year 1778 there has always been militia in this area. Its efficiency has varied widely but it has an unbroken life span to the present day in one or another form. Due to the loose manner of designating units in the earlier wars, and because of the fact that upon being mustered into the

United States service the word militia was dropped and the State troops were carried on the federal rolls as volunteers, a casual check might give the impression that there was no militia in the various wars of the past.

As far as Illinois is concerned it may safely be said that no troops other than militia were ever called into service until 1861 and then not until sixteen regiments had been raised under the old militia system. Further, it is believed that the records will show that all the regiments furnished by Illinois for the Civil War were furnished from the militia rolls and that it was never necessary to invoke the draft.

In the war with Spain, the Border Service and the World War, the units which then constituted the active militia furnished their quotas under the existing regulations, and now the present National Guard, the armed force of the state, stands ready to carry out the duties of the old militia more efficiently than ever before.

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The first organization of militia in the present area of the 130th Infantry was effected about 1718, when Boisbriant, Commandant of the Illinois District of the Province of Louisiana, organized the provincial militia at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The companies of Prairie du Rocher and St. Phillipe were organized about 1722 and 1723 respectively.

Boisbriant built the first fortification at Fort de Chartres about 1718 and garrisoned it with a small detachment of French regulars. The original fort was a double palisade, earth-filled.

In 1729 the Natchez Indians attacked and destroyed the French Fort Rosalie (Natchez). The Governor of Louisiana, Bienville, at once ordered a vigorous campaign against

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the hostile Indians and destroyed the tribe. In 1728 the soldiers from Fort de Chartres operated against the Fox Indians.

In 1734 the Chickasaw Indians began war upon the French posts. The Governor at New Orleans decided upon an expedition against them, and called upon Pierre D'Artaguet, Commandant at Kaskaskia, and Francois Morgan de Vincennes, Commandant at Post Vincennes, for soldiers.

Each furnished a force consisting of troops from his area, and Indian allies. The two forces united at the mouth of the Ohio and moved southward. They arrived at the stronghold of the Indians before the forces under Bienville came up from the south, and made an unsuccessful assault in which both leaders lost their lives. This defeat of the French so stirred the Indians that it took four years of bloody campaigning to subdue them. After 1739 there was comparative peace in the area.

In 1744 war between France and England broke out but was not felt in the Province of Louisiana. However, after the close of this war it was decided to strengthen the defenses at Fort de Chartres, and in 1751 the construction of a stone fort was commenced by Lt. Jean Baptiste Saucier of the French Engineering Corps. The walls enclosed about four acres, and stone barracks, officers quarters, storehouses, etc., were built within.

The fort had just been completed when the French and Indian war broke out in 1754.

An expedition from Fort de Chartres and the Illinois settlements made its way to Fort Necessity where it attacked and defeated the Virginia forces under George Washington.

The Illinois settlements became the principal French

base in the West. In 1755 Captain Aubry was sent to reinforce Fort Duquesne with four hundred men. After a prolonged defense Colonel Washington forced the French to abandon this fort and retire westward.

As the war progressed the French power waned. Troops from the west made a desperate effort to raise the siege of Fort Niagara, but they failed and the flower of the Illinois settlements fell in this last endeavor. At the end of the war Fort de Chartres was ceded to England, together with the Illinois Country.

Fort de Chartres was the last place in North America to lower the French Flag. It was not until 1765 that the English succeeded in penetrating the Indian country with a garrison for the fort. On October 10, 1765, Captain Sterling and a detachment of 42d Highlanders arrived at Chartres and took over the control of the territory. The French commandant evacuated the fort and proceeded to St. Louis where he took service in the Spanish garrison.

The French colonists who remained were guaranteed the same rights and freedom enjoyed under the French crown and life went on much as before.

In 1772 the channel of the Mississippi changed and threatened to destroy Fort de Chartres. The British abandoned Chartres and moved their headquarters to Kaskaskia where they took over the old Jesuit properties, and surrounding them with a stockade, made this the military headquarters of the area.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the regular troops of the garrison were ordered to return to Canada and the defense of the area was left to the local militia. The civil government was left in the hands of Rocheblave, a Frenchman in the British service.

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THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

In spite of the popular misconception that the Revolutionary War was fought and won solely along the Atlantic seaboard, a careful study of history will show that there were three campaigns of major importance fought during the course of this war in what is now the state of Illinois. The Colonial forces involved were small but the result of their victorious operation was far-reaching.

At the outbreak of the war Great Britain controlled all of the Great Lakes and Mississippi area. It was of paramount importance to her that this control of the West should run uninterrupted from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes. Her hold of these waterways blocked the western trade of the colonists and enabled her to draw from the Indians of the area bands of irregulars to harry the frontier settlements.

The French settlements on the Mississippi and Wabash were vital control points and served as assembly areas and supply bases for the British Indians and irregular forces.

George Rogers Clark saw clearly that as long as these towns remained in British hands the defense of the western settlements was almost an impossibility. With great difficulty he secured permission to raise a force of volunteer militia along the Ohio and undertake the conquest of the Illinois Country in the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

On June 24, 1778, Clark landed at the site of old Fort Massac (Metropolis, Illinois) with a force of 175 men. Fearing to use the rivers, it was his plan to travel cross country and take the towns along the Mississippi by surprise. He had had spies operating among these settlements and felt sure that the French could be won over to th

American cause without a fight. This conviction was strengthened by the receipt of news from Williamsburg that the King of France had allied himself with the Colonies.

On the evening of July 4th Clark's force was within a few miles of Kaskaskia, and that night under cover of darkness they descended upon the unsuspecting village. Clark divided his men into two groups—one to surround the village and one to seize the fort. At a given signal both rushed in. The fort was seized without a struggle and Rocheblave, the commandant, made prisoner. The force sent to take the town burst in on the sleeping settlement. Some among the Americans spoke French and these warned the inhabitants to stay within their homes. Several of the leading inhabitants were seized and taken to the fort as hostages. Daylight found Colonel Clark in complete control of Kaskaskia without a shot being fired.

For a day or two the Virginians ruled with an iron hand. The inhabitants were terror-stricken. They expected little better than slavery from the frontiersmen who they had been told were more savage than the Indians of the forest. The local priest came to beg Clark's permission to hold a last church service at which he might give his flock a final blessing. To his great surprise Clark agreed at once, telling him his only concern with churches was to protect them and that under the American rule men were free to worship as their consciences dictated.

When this word reached the people their sorrow and terror changed to joy. The church bell rang and the people cheered. Clark addressed some of the leading men and explained to them the aim of the Revolution. Within a short time the entire community had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States.

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Clark then set about consolidating his position. He re-organized the local militia and gave commissions in the Virginia forces to their officers. This he had been empowered to do by Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia.

Kaskaskia was now an American settlement but there still remained Prairie du Rocher, St. Phillippe and Cahokia. A determined resistance at any of these places might yet destroy the whole plan. Clark set about with his preparations to march to the attack. He caused it to be rumored among the French that should he meet with resistance he feared for the inhabitants of the towns. His new-found allies, desiring to save their fellow-countrymen from his wrath, volunteered to march with him and persuade their friends to join the American cause. The mixed column of Virginia and Illinois County militia marched out and without a struggle each of the remaining towns came over to the cause of the colonies.

Returning to Kaskaskia, Clark at once set about organizing the newly-conquered area as the Illinois County of Virginia. He placed garrisons at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, re-enlisted a number of Virginians for further service and sent the others of his original force back to the settlement with dispatches for the government announcing his success. With the returning force went M. Rocheblave, the only prisoner. Courts were set up and civil officers were appointed in each of the towns.

All that was left to complete the destruction of the British influence was to secure control of Vincennes on the Wabash. Father Gibault, a local priest, volunteered to travel to that settlement and by persuasion secure the adherence of the settlers to the American cause. Clark was delighted. On July 14th Gibault set out upon his mission. On August 1st

he returned with the joyful news that the settlement on the Wabash was now an American town.

There still remained the question of the Indians of the area. Their first loyalty had been to the King of France. When the English took over the area they reluctantly accepted their new masters. Now the Longknives and the French were in control. The Indians were perplexed.

Clark took a bold stand. He called the surrounding tribes to a conference. There he told them he was not soliciting their aid but only came to ask them to state their intentions. He explained that he cared not a whit what they did but simply wanted a showdown. If they desired to fight, well and good, they would have to accept the consequences. If they returned to their villages and remained neutral they would not be molested. In no event would he ask their assistance.

This was talk that could be understood. Such a man must be strong. The Indians returned to their villages and in spite of the activity of the British agents who came among them were of but little use to the British from that time.

In October the Virginia House of Burgesses formally organized the County of Illinois and John Todd was appointed County Lieutenant and Civil Governor.

With the coming of winter Colonel Clark settled down to perfecting the organization of his little army and establishing friendly relations with his Spanish neighbors at St. Louis.

THE SECOND CAMPAIGN

The spring of 1779 found George Rogers Clark with his handful of Virginia militia the guardian of the most west-

erly outpost of the forces of the colonies. By surprise and diplomacy he had made himself master of the entire Illinois Country, won the friendship of the French inhabitants, the respect of the hordes of savages who roamed this western wildness, and had organized the Illinois Country as a County of Virginia.

His presence was a thorn in the side of the British command and a serious threat to British control of her Indian allies. An expedition had been dispatched from Detroit under General Hamilton to destroy this threat to British prestige and had recaptured Fort Sackville, the old French post of Vincennes. Arriving late in the fall, Hamilton decided to winter at Vincennes and attack Clark in the spring. He allowed his Canadian militia to return home, and his Indian allies set out to harry the frontier settlements.

Clark knew of Hamilton's presence at Vincennes and realized his own precarious position. In the heart of an alien country with only a remnant of his original Virginia troops, hundreds of miles from his base and without hope of aid from the colonial forces, he knew his position was desperate but he gave no thought to retreat. Expecting attack, he made plans to abandon all villages except Kaskaskia, and concentrating his forces within the fortification of that town, defend himself to the last.

Hamilton, following the copy-book formula, went into winter quarters, surrendered the initiative, and lost his golden opportunity. As time passed Clark concluded that he was not to be attacked until spring and determined himself to be the aggressor in one desperate thrust to hold his control of the West.

It was his plan to strike so early in the spring that Hamilton, believing that operations were still impossible, would

be taken by surprise. Clark's enthusiasm and confidence communicated itself to his French allies. Young men flocked to join his "Regular" companies until they were up to strength, and two companies of French volunteer militia were organized to accompany the expedition. The local militia guaranteed the defense of the Illinois settlements during the absence of the column. An armed galley, the *Willing*, was constructed and launched on February 5, 1779, the first American man-o-war on the Mississippi, and the Illinois settlements were ablaze with enthusiasm for their first venture in the war for freedom.

On February 14th all was in readiness, and the galley *Willing* set out with a crew of French Illinois County militia under command of Lieutenant John Rogers. They were to proceed via the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to the Wabash, a distance of about 320 miles, and to take station below the Post of Vincennes, closing the river to all traffic, and await the arrival of Clark's main force.

On February 15th Clark with four companies totaling about 130 men set out cross country toward Vincennes. They took a course to the north and east, following the higher ground since the streams were all in flood stage and travel all but impossible. At times the men waded through water up to their arm pits, yet in ten days they traversed the state of Illinois and were within striking distance of their objective.

A mad plan to achieve the impossible was about to be put to the test—one hundred and thirty men without artillery and with no reserve of food or ammunition were about to besiege a fortification, well built, well supplied, armed with cannon and containing a garrison larger than the total of their force, yet the very madness of the plan was the source

of its success. Hamilton had no news of the approach of the Americans and had even sent out a small part of his detachment on a raid against the frontier settlements.

It was no part of Clark's plan that the French townspeople be stampeded into the fort to add to its defenders. He sent a proclamation into the town assuring the citizens of his friendship and followed at once with his four companies and surrounded the fort on the night of February 25th. The garrison was taken totally by surprise. The townspeople hailed the coming of the Americans with delight and aided them with contributions of powder, bullets and food.

In the morning Clark called upon the fort to surrender but the British commander refused to treat with rebels. The engagement continued through the day. The well-directed fire of the besieging riflemen made it almost impossible to serve the cannon on the walls. A second demand for surrender was made, and after some hours the fort capitulated and the garrison marched out with the honors of war and laid down their arms. Most of the British force was released on parole, only General Hamilton and a few of his officers being sent as prisoners of war to Virginia.

The stores of the fort astonished the ragged colonials. Trade goods, food, equipment and ammunition to great value were found. To add to their delight word was received that a supply convoy from Detroit was but a few miles above the town on the Wabash River, and a detachment under Major Legra, Illinois County militia, ascended the river and captured the entire convoy without the loss of a single man. Much to the disgust of her crew the *Willing* did not arrive in time to participate in either action.

So ended the first operation of the Illinois militia under the American flag. These militia companies are the root

from which has grown the present Illinois Guard and are the origin of the present 130th Infantry, and it is fitting indeed that the anniversary of this battle should have been taken as the Organization Day of the 130th. All over the regimental area the anniversary will be celebrated wherever a unit of the regiment is garrisoned.

THE ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS

Nothing of importance occurred for some time after the capture of Vincennes. However, the problem of maintaining the little army was becoming increasingly difficult. Virginia currency was greatly depreciated; her bills were standing unpaid in New Orleans and St. Louis. Clark and his French friends had expended their own fortunes to the last shilling and were ruined unless Virginia honored their drafts.

Early in 1780 General Clark received dispatches from Patrick Henry stating that it was necessary that as many troops as possible be withdrawn from north of the Ohio as no supplies would be forthcoming from the East. The troops at Vincennes were recalled and Colonel Montgomery, Commander of the Illinois County Militia, was directed to turn over the defense of the settlements to the local militia and withdraw south of the Ohio with his volunteer militia units.

Hamilton's defeat and capture had upset earlier plans of the British to regain control of the Illinois Country. Upon word of the new defeat in the West reaching England the War Office at once set afoot a new plan on a grand scale. England considered that, since Spain had broken off diplomatic relations, a state of war existed between the two countries. Orders were issued for a joint expedition against the Spanish and American forces in the Mississippi and Wa-

bash river area. Three columns were to move to a common meeting place—St. Louis. They were to defeat or drive out all American and Spanish forces and garrison and hold the country for the British Crown. The British commander at Pensacola was to move against New Orleans, capture that place and proceed up the Mississippi to St. Louis, capturing the Spanish settlements enroute. The second column was to organize at Detroit, proceed via the Great Lakes, move down the Wabash and capture Vincennes and the fort at the Falls of the Ohio. The third column was to organize at Michillimackinac, move to Prairie du Chien to gather Indian allies, then move south, using the Rock and the Mississippi rivers and attack St. Louis. A force of Sioux Indians was also to be raised on the upper Mississippi to assist in the operation. From the scale upon which the plan was drawn it may easily be seen what importance the British government gave to regaining their power in the West.

DeLeyba, the Spanish commandant, learned of these plans early in the spring of 1780 and at once set about strengthening the defenses of St. Louis. Since the Americans were now his allies he consulted with Colonel Montgomery, Commander of the Illinois Militia, and plans were made for united action. It was proposed that should time permit, a joint force of Americans and Spanish be sent to intercept the advance of the British column from Michillimackinac. Montgomery wrote to Clark, saying that if the odds be not more than two to one against them he guaranteed success, and explained that under the circumstances he was disregarding his instructions to evacuate the French settlements and was now engaged in strengthening the defenses of Cahokia.

On the 9th of May DeLeyba received definite information that a force of three hundred British and nine hundred In-

dians was on its way to attack the settlement and was only eighty leagues from St. Louis. This information was passed to Montgomery who in turn sent expresses to General Clark, who was at Fort Jefferson at the Iron Banks on the Mississippi. Clark at once gathered together a force and set out to aid in the defense of Illinois.

The British force reached St. Louis on May 23, 1780. They at once attacked the Spanish at Pencour, as St. Louis was then called, and the American forces at Cahokia. In both attempts they were unsuccessful. The Indian allies were distrustful of each other and the defenders having had timely warning were on the alert and gave the invaders a hot reception. Some twenty-one defenders were killed during the action and about seventy taken prisoner. The latter were, in the most part, families which had not heeded the warning to take shelter within the settlements.

When it became apparent to the British that the towns were not to be taken by assault they at once began their retreat. The knowledge that the famous General Clark was enroute to assist the defenders of Illinois no doubt increased the desire of the British Indian allies to put out for their homes with all possible speed.

No sooner had the British retired than plans were under way to harry their retreat, penetrate the hostile Indian country and punish those tribes which had listened to the British and joined the expedition. A force of three hundred and fifty men, one hundred or so from the Spanish forces and the balance Illinois militia, was organized under command of Colonel Montgomery. General Clark, who had in the meantime arrived from the south, approved the plan and directed Montgomery to proceed up the Illinois to where Peoria now stands and then move cross country to the

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mouth of the Rock River. It was Montgomery's idea to do as much damage to the retiring British force as possible and to destroy all hostile Indian villages in his path as a lesson to the savages.

The expedition got under way with but little delay. The Indian allies of the British had scattered into small bands, each taking the shortest route to their own country.

Montgomery, in his report to the Commission to Settle Western Accounts, described his operation as follows: "After giving me instructions he (Clark) left Cahos the 4th day of June with a small escort for the mouth of the Ohio on his route to Kentucky. I immediately proceeded to the business I was order'd and marched 350 men to the Lake Opee on the Illinois River and thence to Rock River, destroying the towns and crops proposed, the enemy not daring to fight me as they had been disbanded and they could not raise sufficient force." The distance traveled was about 800 miles in all according to the account of Captain Rogers who commanded one of the companies. Rock Island was the only point at which any serious opposition was encountered. While no great battles were fought the effect of the operation was to convince the Indians of the area that to attack the "Bostonese," as they called the Americans, was not a safe venture.

With the conclusion of this punitive expedition active operations for the year 1780 came to an end. The most serious problem to the American commander in the area was to keep his small force supplied in the face of failing American credit in Illinois and absolute lack of aid from Virginia or the Congress.

One other operation was undertaken in September, 1780, by De la Balme, a mysterious Frenchman who seems to have

been sent into the West to stir up the French, and especially the French Canadians, to espouse the cause of the Americans. He organized a small expedition at Cahokia which, under command of Hamelin, set out to destroy the British post at St. Joseph. This party succeeded in sacking the British station but was later overtaken by a party of British traders and Indians and defeated. All members of the expedition except three were either killed or captured.

All through the winter of 1780-1781 word trickled south of renewed activity at the British garrisons to the north. Cruzat, the new Spanish Governor at St. Louis, felt sure that it was the intention of the British to descend again upon his settlement. He therefore determined to strike first, and set about outfitting an expedition for the invasion of the British area. The French townspeople of Cahokia, still smarting under the defeat of their expedition the previous September, furnished a small company of militia to accompany the Spanish column.

On January 2, 1781, the expedition started from St. Louis under the command of Captain Don Eugenis Pouree. The Spanish troops and Indian allies numbered about 130 men, while the unit from Cahokia under M. Trautir numbered 30 riflemen. The expedition moved up the Illinois for "eighty-six leagues" to a place known as Los Pes where they were forced by ice to abandon their boats and march up the river on foot. The five horses accompanying the expedition were laden with extra ammunition. After twenty terrible days of hunger and cold the expedition arrived within two leagues of St. Joseph, a British trading post near the present site of Niles, Michigan, a march of about 400 miles. At 7:00 in the morning on February 12th they attacked and captured the station. After holding the place for forty-

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eight hours the Spanish burned the town and retired toward St. Louis. The return trip was made without incident.

For the balance of the year nothing of military importance occurred in the Illinois area. The success of Pourcee's expedition had struck another severe blow at England's prestige among the northern tribes, and the fall and winter of 1781-1782 passed peaceably.

In April, 1782, the British garrisons received word that a cessation of all armed conflict had been ordered, and so ended the War of the Revolution in the West.

THE SECOND WAR WITH ENGLAND

The peace which descended upon the Illinois Country with the ending of the Revolutionary struggle was comparative rather than real. Although England had lost title to the western area her garrisons were reluctant to evacuate their forts. The Indians were confused as to who truly was the master and were irritated by the flood of settlers coming into the country. Their ill nature was increased by English agents who, never giving up hope of regaining their lost trade, continued to excite the savages to war.

As early as 1809 numerous attacks were made against the northern settlements. Governor St. Clair energetically set about preparing his people for defense against the war which he felt to be inevitable. Blockhouses were built at each of the settlements and the militia of the area was re-organized and equipped. In July, 1811, Major Livering of the militia with militiamen from Cahokia and Kaskaskia visited the tribes of the upper Mississippi to secure the surrender of savages guilty of attacks against the whites. In November Captain White's company of Gallatin County militia took part in the battle of Tippecanoe under General

Harrison. In that same year Indian raiders penetrated south as far as the Big Muddy and settlers were massacred in the vicinity of the present town of Carbondale.

Anticipating the action of the general government, Governor Edwards, at his own expense, increased the defenses of the territory and augmented the militia. By this time there were four regularly organized counties (St. Clair, Randolph, Johnson and Gallatin), each with its regiment of county militia, and scattered units were existent in Madison County. In addition to these local militia, ranging bands were organized ready to pursue the invading Indians at a moment's notice.

Communication with the East was slow and unreliable and no definite news of the declaration of war was received until word of the massacre at Fort Dearborn and the siege of Detroit was brought south by runners. Well did the settlers of the frontier know what this would mean to them. Frontier war with all its horrors was again upon them and they knew that they could rely only upon their own resources for the safety of their wives, their children, and their homes.

Governor Edwards had constructed a fort (Fort Russell) near the present site of Edwardsville and armed it with cannon salvaged from the ruins of Fort de Chartres. From this base the military operations in Illinois were regulated. Proclamations were issued levying upon the counties for volunteer militia, and a force of 350 men rendezvoused at Fort Russell in September, 1812, and was organized into two small regiments, commanded by Colonels Elias Rector and Benjamin Stephenson.

The Americans decided to take the initiative and strike at their Indian foes before the British could fully organize

the tribes for an attack upon their settlements. It was hoped that by a bold stroke the Indians might be discouraged from involving themselves in the struggle.

The plan of campaign was to penetrate the Indian country in two columns, one in boats going up the Mississippi and the Illinois, while the second column proceeded overland. The two were to join at Peoria Lake and thereafter act together against the hostiles. On October 16th the boat party under Captain Craig got under way, and on October 18th the main body moved out overland. The total force consisted of some 312 Illinois Militia. Small garrisons from the 1st Regiment were left at Kaskaskia and Fort Russell for the defense of the settlements. The main body proceeded first to "the saline forks of the Sanguemon" where they destroyed two hostile villages, and then proceeded to the Peoria Lake where they joined forces with Craig's expedition and attacked the villages of the Kickapoo and Miami.

After a sharp skirmish the savages were routed and the villages with the stores of grain were burned. Some thirty Indians were killed in the fight but the Americans escaped with but four men wounded. After this battle a detachment proceeded to the present site of Peoria where they destroyed another Miami village.

The expedition had succeeded; the Indians had had a good drubbing and were without supplies. Once again the "long-knives" had demonstrated that they were good people to be at peace with and the British had once more failed to protect their allies.

Feeling sure that the blow dealt would keep the frontier free from raids until the spring the little army retraced its

way to Fort Russell where most of the men were allowed to return to their homes.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1813 AND 1814

With the coming of spring, border raids broke out anew. The northern settlements were repeatedly attacked. One band of raiders penetrated as far south as the present site of Covington, attacking the blockhouse there. Another reached the settlements near Carlyle. The militia companies of William Whiteside, Boone, and Samuel Whiteside took the field and were constantly on the move skirmishing with the hostile Indians.

The new settlements in Missouri were now in American territory and felt the back lash of the conflict across the Mississippi. Their governor, William Clark, a younger brother of George Rogers Clark, believed as did his distinguished kinsman that the best defense was in offense, and therefore arranged for a joint expedition to be sent out by the Missouri and Illinois territories to penetrate the Indian country again and bring the war home to the Indian villages. A small force of federal troops was secured to accompany the expedition.

The joint force, consisting of regulars and militia from the Missouri and Illinois territories was organized. The Illinois contingent consisted of a small regiment four hundred strong commanded by Col. Benjamin Stephenson, which included the companies of Captains Joseph Phillips, Samuel Judy, Nathaniel Journey and Samuel Whiteside.

While these preparations were under way the northern frontier was suffering a series of Indian raids. One band of hostile Indians raided the settlement near Covington. Another reached Carlyle. The companies of Samuel and

William Whiteside and that of Captain Boone from the Big Muddy settlement were repeatedly engaged in skirmishes with the raiders.

The joint expedition followed the river route to the Peoria Lake, destroying all Indian villages in their path. Arriving there, they destroyed the village of Chief Gomo and scattered his tribesmen. During their stay they erected a fort near the present site of Peoria which they named Fort Clark.

A detachment under Major Christy, Illinois Territorial Militia, was sent by boat up the Mississippi as far as the rapids but encountered no hostiles. Major Boone, with a detachment of Illinois militia, scouted the Spoon River area without making any contact with British forces.

While the expedition did little serious fighting it achieved its purpose, since by raiding the Indian country the frontier settlements were relieved of the constant threat of raids and another severe blow to British prestige among the tribes of central Illinois was dealt.

The expedition returned home and was disbanded and the winter months passed without incident.

So far the operations in the West had only led to a stalemate although some slight advantage had accrued to the Americans as a result of their two raids into the Indian country.

American leaders were of the opinion that the only way to pacify the northern border was the removal of the British influence from the tribes of the area. Prairie du Chien and Mackinac and Green Bay were all in British hands and served as points from which British Indian agents spread

their doctrines. Mackinac and Green Bay were far to the north. The crux of the problem of control of the Illinois tribes was possession of Prairie du Chien.

The initiative in the campaign of 1814 was taken by the Americans. Early in that year a mixed column of regulars and militiamen from Illinois and Missouri under the command of Captain Perkins, U.S.A., started for Prairie du Chien to seize and hold the area. The Illinois quota was 140 men divided into two companies commanded by Captains Kennery and Sullivan. The journey was made without incident, and the town occupied without resistance.

The troops at once set about erecting a fort which was known as Fort Shelby. It was the usual type of frontier fortification, a stockade with blockhouses at the corners, and was armed with six pieces of cannon and further strengthened by the presence of the gunboat *General Clark*, an armed galley which was anchored in the river nearby.

Upon the completion of the fortification the larger part of the expedition returned to St. Louis. The gunboat and a small garrison in the fort were left to hold the territory for the United States.

During this time the British had not been idle. The British commander at Mackinac was busily engaged in organizing a force to march on Prairie du Chien and establish a British garrison there. Two companies of white volunteers were raised which were known as "Michigan Fencibles." At Green Bay another company was raised which was known as the "Mississippi Volunteers." To this white force was added one three-pound cannon under Sergeant Keating of the Royal Artillery. The army consisted of 120 men in addition to some 500 Indians.

The British force arrived before Fort Shelby on July 17th and demanded its surrender. When the American commanders refused to capitulate the British at once laid siege to the place. Sergeant Keating opened fire upon the gunboat *General Clark*. After three hours of fighting the gunboat cut her cable and made off down the river and the British field piece was turned on the fort itself.

The bombardment continued until the evening of the 19th. That night the Americans surrendered and the fort passed into British hands and was renamed Fort McKay. The scantiness of the resources of the British commander made it necessary for him to release his prisoners.

After the return of the first American expedition to St. Louis the authorities at once set about organizing another to proceed to Fort Shelby to reënforce the garrison there in anticipation of a British attack. Early in July a force of 140 regulars and Missouri and Illinois militia left St. Louis. They arrived at the mouth of the Illinois the very day Fort Shelby surrendered. At the mouth of the river one of their boats got out of control and stranded on an island. The Sac and Fox, knowing of the English success at Prairie du Chien, had again taken the British belts and ambushed the American force as it entered the Illinois. During the engagement another of the boats took fire and the Americans were forced back down the river leaving the stranded boat crew to their fate. At this moment the gunboat *Clark* put in an appearance, returning from its defeat at Fort Shelby, and took off the occupants of the stranded keel-boat. When Lieutenant Campbell learned of the situation at Prairie du Chien he decided to return to St. Louis for aid.

In August, 1814, Major Zachary Taylor set out with 450 men in eight armed barges. Forty of this force were regu-

lars, the balance militiamen from Missouri and Illinois. The companies of Samuel Whiteside, Hempstead and Nelson Rector made up the Illinois contingent.

Word of their coming was brought to the British at Fort McKay by friendly Indians and a force set out with six pieces of artillery to meet the new American attack. The British saw clearly that the rapids of the river were the first line of defense and planned to attack the column there. They gathered about 2,000 men, whites and Indians, at the mouth of the Illinois, and upon Taylor's arrival on August 23rd they attacked him furiously and forced him to withdraw down the river. After quitting the engagement the Americans continued down stream and landed near the present site of Warsaw where they constructed a fort, Fort Edwards, and remained in observation, awaiting attack. In October they burned their fort and retired to St. Louis. So ended the War of 1812 in the West.

INDIAN WARS, 1827 AND 1831-32

During the administration of Governor Edwards (1826-30) the Indians on the northwest frontier were continually a menace. In the summer of 1827 a combination was formed by the Sac, Winnebago, Potawatomi and others with the express purpose of driving out all whites located north of Rock Island. Thus the situation became serious.

On July 14, 1827, Governor Edwards directed Colonel Thomas N. Neale, 20th Regiment, I. S. M., to raise 600 volunteers from his regiment to rendezvous at Fort Clark (Peoria) and proceed from there to Galena with the least delay. The force was raised in Sangamon County and proceeded to Peoria where the organization was completed. The men then moved to Galena. Upon their arrival it was

found that a mixed column under Brigadier General Henry Atkinson with a force of regulars and militia from Jo Daviess County had penetrated the Indian country and forced the surrender of the hostile Indians. During this period an independent company under General Samuel Whiteside, acting as a captain, had ranged the country north of the Illinois River and passed through the Winnebago country, striking the Mississippi above Prairie du Chein in Wisconsin. During this same period one fourth of each regiment in General Hansen's brigade, I.S.M., had been "detached" or placed on active duty to repel local attack.

The campaign, locally known as the Winnebago War, insured the safety of the frontier until the spring of 1831.

The frontier was again agitated by a series of Indian raids in the early spring of 1831. Black Hawk had refused to obey the provisions of the treaties made with his tribe and persisted in occupying his old village. His particular portion of the tribe known as the British Band had constantly been hostile to the American settlers and his braves were now raiding the outlying settlements. On May 26th, without any call or authority from the U. S. Government, Governor Reynolds called upon the militia of Illinois for 700 mounted men to meet at Beardstown on the 10th of June. "This gave the troops only a few days to volunteer, prepare for the service, and march from this county—St. Clair—to Beardstown, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, or more."¹ "When a call is made on the militia the number that will volunteer cannot be exactly ascertained before they meet at the place of *rendezvous*. In this call on the militia, more than double the number that was called for—seven hundred—volunteered. It was the

¹John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Chicago, 1879), 209.

most busy time in the year with the farmers, yet hundreds of them unhitched their horses from the plow, left their corn-fields, and appeared in the army."² The force mustered at Beardstown on the appointed day. The Hon. Joseph Duncan, M. C., was appointed brigadier general and General Samuel Whiteside, Illinois Militia, was appointed to command the spy battalion of the volunteer militia as a major. The troops were organized into a brigade with two regiments, a spy battalion and an odd battalion. The first regiment was commanded by Col. James D. Henry, the second regiment by Col. Daniel Lieb, the odd battalion by Major N. Buckmaster. The brigade left the encampment for Rock Island accompanied by Governor Reynolds, acting in his capacity of commander-in-chief of the Illinois Militia. The settlements were not extended at that day much north, if any, of Monmouth, in Warren County. The army marched four days and on the Mississippi eight miles below the Sac village at which point they were met by General Gaines of the Regular Army with a steamboat of provisions, the troops were mustered into the service of the United States. The joint force of regulars and militia camped for the night and in the early morning disposed themselves for battle. A cannon shot was to be the signal for general attack. At the signal the attack was launched, only to find the Indians had fled during the night and the sacred village was empty. After assuring themselves the enemy had fled the troops returned to their encampment. Word was sent to Black Hawk, who had assembled his band on the west side of the Mississippi about twelve miles below Rock Island, to come in with his sub-chiefs and make his peace. On the 30th he arrived with about twenty-eight other chiefs and entered into a treaty in which he agreed to withdraw from all lands

²*Ibid.*, 209-10.

east of the Mississippi and to cease all intercourse with the British, and to keep the peace. So ended the first campaign. The troops marched back to their point of rendezvous and were allowed to return to their homes.

Only a short time passed before rumors again were rife that Black Hawk was restless and preparing for mischief. All winter he had labored with the surrounding tribes soliciting their aid. Early in May, 1832, Black Hawk with a band of 600 well-armed warriors, their women, children and possessions, crossed the Mississippi. The presence of this determined and well-armed band spread dismay throughout the settlements from the Mississippi to the Great Lakes. Knowing the frontier to be in great danger Governor Reynolds issued a call for troops from the militia to meet at Beardstown on the 22nd of May. Two hundred men under Major Bailey were at once ordered to protect the settlements between the Rock River and the Illinois, and 200 men under General Stillman of the militia acting as a major of volunteer militia were sent to protect the settlements near the Mississippi. The main force rendezvoused and was organized into four regiments, an odd and a spy battalion. The force was known as Whiteside's Brigade since it was commanded by General Samuel Whiteside, Illinois Militia. Colonel DeWitt commanded the first regiment, Colonel Fry the second, Thomas the third, and Thompson the fourth. The odd battalion was commanded by Major James and the spy battalion by Major Henry. Governor Reynolds described the campaign in part as follows: "I received at Beardstown, almost daily, horrid accounts of the determined hostility of the Indians, which caused me to issue orders to every county in the State to levy and organize in the whole at least five thousand volunteers, to be ready to march at a moment's warning. As the war progressed so

slowly, this call on the militia turned out exceedingly well for the second campaign."³ The entire army was ordered to march to the Yellow Banks where supplies were to be sent from St. Louis. An additional battalion under Major Long had arrived from Sangamon County and was dispatched at this time by steamer to meet the main force at the Yellow Banks. There were no roads and the ground was wet and muddy, making progress slow. On arrival at the Yellow Banks it was found that no provisions had yet arrived. However, on the morning of May 6th the steamer *William Wallace* arrived from St. Louis with a great quantity of supplies and a boat from the regular army garrison at Rock Island also appeared. About the same time Captain William Warren of Shelbyville arrived with two companies. After issuing ten days' supply to the troops the army moved up the Mississippi to Fort Armstrong at Rock Island where the militia was mustered into the service of the United States by General Atkinson, U. S. Army. Governor Reynolds was federally recognized as major general.

On May 9th the united column of regulars and volunteer militia moved up the Rock River. The regulars with the artillery and supplies moved by boat while the Illinois brigade continued by marching. On the morning of the 10th of May word was received by the commanding officer of the Illinois brigade from his spies that Black Hawk and his band were on the Rock River above Dixon. General Whiteside decided to leave his heavy baggage and make a forced march after the hostiles. He sent an express to General Atkinson, the commanding officer of the column, notifying him of this decision, and set out at once.

³Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 225.

The Illinois brigade arrived at Dixon on the morning of the 12th day to find that the local authorities claimed no hostile Indians to be within forty miles. The troops were almost exhausted, had only two days' rations on hand, and the information was distressing and painful to the army. Believing the information received from the local authorities to be correct, an attempt was made to send expresses to the Potawatomi to the north asking them to prevent Black Hawk entering their lands. However, the expresses fell in with a small band of hostiles and were driven in.

At Dixon the two battalions of Stillman and Bailey, which had been sent out earlier to protect the frontier, rejoined the main army. They were rested and well supplied. These troops requested that they be allowed to make a foray in an attempt to locate the hostile band. On the 12th of May Major Stillman was directed to take the two battalions on a reconnaissance to the head of Old Man Creek where it was believed the hostiles might be lurking. Major Stillman, a general in the Illinois militia, was a good soldier, but unfortunately for the success of the expedition there was some misunderstanding between Stillman and Bailey as to the command of the column. Stillman marched out on the morning of May 13th with 275 men and necessary equipment. The remainder of the troops were sent into camp to rest and await the arrival of General Atkinson's force with the supplies. The column under Stillman marched about twenty-five miles up the Rock River in the wrong direction and at sunset of the second day, the 14th, prepared to go into camp within a few miles of the point at which Black Hawk and his main body were encamped. During the confusion incident to making camp a small party of Indians appeared and soon a ragged, uncontrolled pursuit by members of Stillman's command was in full swing, carrying a number

of soldiers across about five miles of prairie and full into the main camp of Black Hawk. The tumult alarmed the Indians and they dashed out in mad defense of their women and children, falling on the stragglers, an unmanageable force of Stillman's command which was scattered over some three miles. The Indian reinforcements turned the tide and they pursued the whites with great fury, driving them back upon their camp. By the time the whites reached their camp ground it was quite dark and the shooting, yelling, and sound of running horses produced a general panic and the entire command fled. It was in this general route that most of the white casualties occurred.

By 1:00 A. M. on the morning of the 15th of May the first stragglers of Stillman's command arrived at the main camp at Dixon with tragic and horrible tales of the disaster. Their tales confused the army and their contradictory statements left the main body at a loss to know what to believe. At daylight the survivors of Stillman's column were paraded and fifty-two found to be absent. As a result of this fight Governor Reynolds called for two thousand additional men on his own responsibility and without requisition by the general government. He also empowered Colonel Strode, Colonel of Joe Daviess County, to raise his, the 27th Regiment Illinois Militia, for the defense of the county. The call was raised from 2,000 to 3,000 at the request of General Atkinson. Time of service of Whiteside's brigade had expired and it was necessary to discharge most of the men since they desired to return to their homes; however, an appeal was made for sufficient volunteers to remain over until the arrival of the second levies in order to protect the frontiers. This regiment was quickly raised and consisted of seven companies under the command of Colonel

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Fry, and was mustered into the U. S. service on May 18th, 1832. The battalions of Stillman and Bailey also remained on duty, guarding the supplies at Dixon and Ottawa.

The new levies had been directed to form at Beardstown on June 3rd and Hennepin on June 10th. About this time Black Hawk with 150 warriors attacked Apple Creek Fort, twelve miles south of Galena. The battle lasted for fifteen hours and the local militia succeeded in driving off the attackers before the arrival of a relief column from the 27th Regiment. By June 15th the new levies had arrived at Fort Wilbourn near Peru and were organized into three brigades commanded by Generals Posey, Alexander and Henry. A total of 3,192 men were mustered into federal service by General Atkinson who assumed command of the army. A spy battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Dement, acting as a major of volunteer militia, was organized from the Franklin, Jefferson and Marion county companies and ordered to Fort Dixon by way of the Bureau settlements. The men arrived at Fort Dixon and reported to Col. Zachary Taylor, who ordered them to take station at Kellogg's Grove.

Three days after their arrival at that point they engaged in a battle with two or three hundred Indians who drew them into ambush and drove them back to the fort at Kellogg's Grove. They dispatched an express to Dixon for help and placed the fort in shape to hold off a night attack. By sundown General Posey's brigade arrived and the Indians withdrew. At this time the main army of the frontier consisted of about 600 regulars and 3,000 militia. General Alexander's brigade was ordered to take over the area between Dixon and Galena and protect the frontier against raids. General Posey's brigade was ordered to Fort Hamilton, and the remaining brigade under General Henry, to-

gether with the regular troops, was commanded by General Atkinson and moved to Dixon to secure supplies. From that point the forces commanded by General Atkinson moved up the Rock River in pursuit of Black Hawk. By July 4th they had penetrated eighty miles into the heart of the Indian country but had made no contact with the hostiles. On the 8th day they were sent off on a wild goose chase by a false report given them by Decore, a Winnebago chief, who claimed to know where Black Hawk was hiding.

This false report allowed Black Hawk to escape his pursuers. By the 10th of July supplies were exhausted and the troops dispersed to secure supplies. The brigades of Henry and Alexander and the battalion under Major Dodge were ordered to Fort Winnebago to refit. This fort was at the portage between the Fox River and the Wisconsin River. Colonel John Ewing's regiment was ordered to Dixon. General Atkinson with the regular troops moved down the Rock River to Koskanong Lakes where they built a small fort. The brigades of Henry and Alexander spent two days at Fort Winnebago refitting, and drew twelve days' supplies. Information was received that Black Hawk was at Cranberry Lakes, some forty or fifty miles above the camp of General Atkinson. Alexander's brigade moved back to join General Atkinson, while Henry's brigade moved to attack the hostiles. On the third day of his march Henry received confirmation of the reports of Black Hawk's whereabouts and at once dispatched an express to General Atkinson. On July 19th the heavy baggage was abandoned in order to make a forced march to overtake the enemy. The spy corps under General Dodge and Colonel Ewing, both acting as majors, led the advance of the army.

On the morning of the 20th Indian scouts were captured and it was learned that Black Hawk was not far ahead.

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About sunset the troops arrived at the first of the lakes where the column halted overnight. Pursuit was resumed at daybreak and by 3:00 P. M. on the 21st the enemy was located on the bluff of the Wisconsin River and crossing over that stream.

Henry immediately deployed, dismounted his men and attacked. The fight lasted until nightfall by which time the Indians had retired to the low ground and marshes along the river where they took cover. The whites withdrew to await the coming of daylight. Morning showed that the Indians had withdrawn and on the following day the troops moved to Blue Mounds to secure additional supplies.

At Blue Mounds they found the force of General Atkinson and the brigades of Posey and Alexander. Within a short time the entire column was on the move and the 28th of July found them crossing the Wisconsin River at Helena. Five miles above this place they picked up a fresh trail and pressed on in pursuit. When they reached the Mississippi Bluffs, Black Hawk with a small force attempted a delaying action to permit his people to cross the river in safety; however, he was driven off to the north by General Atkinson's regulars. The pursuit continued after the main band which was moving directly across the bottom near the mouth of a stream known as the Bad Axe. The advance guard had been drawn off in pursuit of Black Hawk's party but the main body upon their arrival had found the trail of the main body of Indians and took up the pursuit. Troops dismounted and deployed and soon were engaged with the Indians who were driven through a slough and took refuge on an island in the river. The island was taken by assault and the defenders in the most part were killed in the attack or drowned in the attempt to escape. Black Hawk es-

caped from the action but later surrendered. On September 15th he and his sub-chiefs entered into treaties which again guaranteed his withdrawal west of the Mississippi River. With these treaties the Black Hawk War came to a close. The regular troops under General Atkinson returned to their garrison at St. Louis and the Illinois volunteer militia returned to their homes. During this period Governor Reynolds found it necessary to dispatch two battalions of Illinois volunteer militia from the southern part of the state (Major Bailey's battalion and Major Buckmaster's battalion) to protect the frontiers in the vicinity of the present Cook County and give security to the settlers in Chicago.

THE MEXICAN WAR

In the year 1846 the trouble which had been brewing between the United States and its neighbor, Mexico, was climaxed by an armed encounter between American and Mexican federal troops. War was the natural result.

In August, 1845, General Zachary Taylor, the same officer who commanded the last Illinois expedition against the British at Prairie du Chien in the War of 1812, was ordered to Texas with a force of regulars. He arrived at Corpus Christi where he remained until March of 1846. In that month he started his movement south to the Rio Grande, the disputed boundary line. Arriving on the river he established his base at Point Isabel and began a fort, later to be known as Fort Brown, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoros.

The Mexican commander of the area resolved to cross the river and cut the communications between Taylor and his base at Point Isabel and force the surrender of the American force. Fearing just such a move on the part of

his opponent Taylor marched back to Point Isabel to obtain fresh supplies, leaving a small force under Major Brown to garrison the fort. On May 7th, with two hundred wagons and two thousand men, he set out on the return journey. During his absence the Mexican General Arista had attacked the fort but was repulsed.

Learning that Taylor's army was on the march Arista placed his army astride the Point Isabel road and prepared to give battle at a place called Palo Alto. On the 8th of May the armies met and a small engagement resulted in which neither side secured any real advantage. However at dawn the Mexican force began to withdraw. By 10:00 A. M. the Mexicans occupied a new position five miles nearer the river and were in camp near Resaca de la Palma. Arista did not expect any further attack that day and made no adequate provisions for local security. The American attack delivered early in the evening of that day struck an absolutely unsuspecting army engaged in preparing supper. A few sharp brushes with the outposts, a staggering charge lead by Captain May of the regular cavalry and the day was won. The Mexican army was routed and fled across the Rio Grande. Arista found his army so demoralized that he evacuated Matamoras and retreated into Mexico. Taylor immediately occupied the city.

Word of the engagements reached Washington the night of May 9th and President Polk sent his war message to Congress on the 11th. In that message he asserted that the state of war existed as the result of Mexican aggression. War fever swept the country. Congress appropriated ten million dollars for war purposes and the President was authorized to raise an army of fifty thousand men.

Illinois was called upon to furnish three regiments of infantry from her militia and Alton was selected as the place of rendezvous. In answer to a call by the Governor, Illinois troops poured in from the militia of the counties. The 1st Regiment was raised from the counties in the vicinity of Springfield and was commanded by Col. J. J. Hardin, a Brigadier General in the State Militia. The 2nd Regiment was raised from the southwestern counties and commanded by Col. William H. Bissell. The 3rd Regiment was raised from the southeastern counties under the command of Col. Ferris Foreman. So many additional companies had arrived at the rendezvous that the federal government authorized the 4th Regiment to be raised under the command of Col. E. D. Baker.

The 1st and 2nd Illinois Volunteer Militia were brigaded together and were sent down the Mississippi and across the Gulf of Matagordo Bay where they joined General Wool's command and proceeded to San Antonio, arriving at that place August 23, 1846. One month later General Wool's army, which was a part of General Taylor's force, crossed the Rio Grande and marched through San Fernando, Monclova to Parras, arriving there December 24, 1846, after having traversed a distance of three hundred miles through hostile territory without serious opposition. From Parras, Wool made a wide sweep to the east and rejoined Taylor's main army in the vicinity of Saltillo. By February the American army had penetrated as far as the Mexican town of Agua Nueva.

During this time the plans of the home government had changed and General Winfield Scott was dispatched to capture the city of Vera Cruz and make the main American effort up the Vera Cruz-Mexico City road and capture the

Mexican capital. Taylor's campaign was subordinated to that of Scott and many of Taylor's best troops were detached and sent to assist in the campaign against Mexico City. Taylor found himself in the heart of a hostile country, facing attack by Santa Anna's newly organized army, with only forty-seven hundred men, many of whom were new recruits. He was outnumbered three to one. General Taylor's base of supplies was at Saltillo and was being threatened by a force of two thousand cavalry under General Minon, who was circling through the mountains to the east. Santa Anna was leading his force northward from San Luis Potosi. On February 20 Taylor's scouts made contact with both forces. Agua Nueva offered no suitable defensive position and Taylor withdrew to better ground.

The main highway ran north eighteen miles to Saltillo through a broad pass. Taylor withdrew twelve miles to the mouth of the pass and prepared to give battle near the hacienda of Buena Vista. By the morning of February 22 the whole American army was assembled. It was Taylor's plan to place his artillery so as to command the road and destroy Santa Anna should he attempt to force a passage. The plain leading to the mountain pass was deeply cut with crevasses and bounded on both sides by high mountains. The crevasses were deep, some as much as sixty feet to the bottom and with almost perpendicular sides. Taylor felt sure that no force could successfully operate in that area and that the only route of approach was up the main stream bed where the highway ran. The American forces were disposed to defend this roadway. As Taylor saw it, the lateral crevasses left Santa Anna with his artillery and cavalry no option but to advance up the sunken corridor. Nothing was needed but a grim defense of the narrow passage, a second Thermopylae.

Santa Anna, looking at the problem from the other side, saw a different answer. There were two keys to the position—the pass proper and the heads of these draws or crevasses where they became shallow. Instead of obstacles they became to him covered avenues of approach. He immediately set under way a quiet movement up these draws, at the same time making a demonstration against Taylor's lines. It was his intention to turn the American position from the east and catch his enemies in their own net.

Not until the Mexican movement was well under way did the Americans discover their danger. The weakness of their position was apparent and Taylor hastened to re-arrange his forces. He at once dispatched three guns from Washington's Battery and a force of infantry to the left flank where they succeeded in breaking up the Mexican movement for the time being. These moves and counter-moves consumed what was left of the day. After nightfall Taylor re-arranged his force to meet the two attacks which he knew would come on the morrow.

At dawn the attacks opened. That on the road was of little importance. To the east around the heads of the crevasses the battle raged. A wave of Mexicans swept over the American forward positions which had momentarily checked the Mexican advance and were then swept away. Sherman, in a desperate effort to stem the attack, pushed all his guns forward. Before reënforcements could be brought up the Mexicans penetrated the American main line, cutting off the eastern detachments. The fierce intervention of Sherman's artillery held the Mexicans for a short time and the isolated detachments scampered across the front of the Mexican penetration and rejoined their comrades. The situation had all the appearances of an American defeat. The

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retirement was general with disorganization spreading from unit to unit. At this critical moment Taylor launched a counter-attack by a regiment of Mississippi Rifles from the reserve and under cover of this effected a quick reorganization of his confused troops and hurled them back at their enemy. The Mexicans withdrew.

Utilizing this respite Taylor completed his reorganization, withdrew every possible man from his right flank and recaptured his original position. Night fell with the armies back in the positions they had held that morning. The Mexicans still had a great superiority of numbers. Should they resume the fight in the morning Taylor's position was desperate. But there was no need to fear the coming day. The morale of the Mexican army was broken. That night they moved back on San Luis Potosi, leaving the Americans in possession of the field.

The 1st and 2nd Illinois were in the midst of the fighting at the crevasses and for their gallantry were especially cited by General Taylor. Colonel Hardin, the commander of the 1st Illinois, lost his life in the engagement. The 1st Illinois lost twenty-nine killed and fifty wounded, while the casualties of the 2nd were listed as twenty-nine killed and sixty-three wounded.

The two regiments remained in the vicinity of Buena Vista until the latter part of May when, their term of service having nearly expired, they were started on their way to their homes. They were discharged at Camargo, Mexico, June 17, 1847.

The 3rd and 4th Illinois Volunteer Militia were sent down the river together and proceeded to the Mexican city of Matamoras where they were made part of General Pat-

terson's division and moved south to Tampico and served under General Shields in that city. When the government decided to send troops against Vera Cruz, Shields' brigade, the 3rd and 4th Illinois, was detached from Taylor's command and joined General Scott at his rendezvous at Lobos Island and embarked as part of his command under Major General Patterson, who commanded the Volunteer Division.

Arriving before Vera Cruz, Scott made his landing on March 9th on the beach a few miles south of the city. The landing was unopposed, the small Mexican force operating in the area having withdrawn. Shields' brigade is said to have been the first to land, Companies "A," "F" and "G" of the 4th Illinois under command of Lt. Col. John Moore being the first troops ashore.

The landing was made under the impression that the line of sand dunes fringing the beach was held by the Mexicans. The troops leaped overboard as the boats reached shallow water, formed into battle line, and with a shout, charged the sand dunes only to find them unoccupied.

The army under Scott at once invested the Mexican city. After a four-day bombardment Vera Cruz surrendered and the Americans were free to begin their thrust against the capital. Although no hostile troops threatened him Scott knew that his greatest enemy, yellow fever, lurked on the coast and he made haste to remove his army to the higher ground of the interior.

The route taken by the Americans followed that taken by Cortez three hundred years earlier. As they made their way northward through the rugged mountains they were surprised to pass position after position undefended. In

some places fortifications had actually been prepared but the defenders had withdrawn before the arrival of the American column.

Santa Anna, delayed by a political crisis and many military problems, had at last succeeded in organizing another army and was enroute to block the road to Mexico City. He fortified the mountain pass at Cerro Gordo. However, his dispositions were faulty in that he took his stand before the pass with no road open for retirement except the single narrow road through the mountains. The Mexican army was drawn up with its left flank resting on the base of the mountains and its right on the precipitous bank of the river. The troops were so disposed that most of the army had the river gorge at their backs. The lower slopes of the mountains were not occupied since Santa Anna felt that no force could operate over such terrain.

When the Americans made contact with their adversaries the fact that no steps had been taken to deny passage through the foothills was at once noted and a reconnaissance was made to see whether or not a movement in that direction was practical. It was decided that such was the case and the Americans planned to attack in two columns at a set time, one to attack the Mexican position, while the other, after passing the Mexican flank, was to attack in rear. After overcoming almost insuperable difficulties the flanking movement was accomplished. A night and a day were consumed in this maneuver, and early on the morning of April 18th the Americans hurled themselves at their foe. The flanking attack shattered the Mexican left wing and sent it whirling back, blocking the only avenue of retreat. The right and center were assaulted by Scott's main force. With the rout of the left wing they were trapped with their backs to

the river gorge and surrounded by American bayonets. Seeing that further resistance was futile the Mexicans threw down their arms. The victory was complete, the Mexican army was destroyed, and all its artillery and supplies were in the hands of the victors. No effective force remained between Scott and Mexico City. There was but one fly in the ointment, Santa Anna had escaped. With his usual sagacity he had been among the first to leave the field. His wooden leg, however, was captured by the 4th Illinois.

Shields' brigade, 3rd and 4th Illinois, was a portion of the flanking force and had a full share of the heavy fighting in that area. For their exemplary conduct during the engagement they were cited by General Scott, Brigadier General Twiggs, commander of the advance forces, and Major General Patterson, commander of the volunteer division. During the latter part of the battle Brigadier General Shields was wounded and Colonel Baker, commanding officer of the 4th Illinois, commanded the brigade during the remainder of the action. The 3rd Illinois lost one killed and fifteen wounded, while the 4th reported five killed and forty-three wounded.

Shortly after the battle the 3rd and 4th Illinois marched back to Vera Cruz and embarked for New Orleans where they were discharged on May 25th, 1847.

Illinois furnished the 5th and 6th regiments of infantry for the second call for troops. These regiments were volunteers and for that reason are not considered to be among the parent regiments of the present 130th Infantry.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES, 1861-65

On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 volunteers from the militia of the several states.

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Illinois furnished six regiments of infantry under this call—the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th Regiments Illinois Volunteer Militia. All of these regiments with the exception of the 12th were raised wholly or in the greater part from the present area assigned the 130th Infantry. However, the War Department has assigned the 10th Regiment as the parent organization of our present regiment, and for that reason this history will only concern itself with the record of that regiment.

The 10th was mustered into the Federal service at Cairo on April 29th. Prior to that time various units had been on active duty under state orders since April 17th protecting the city of Cairo and the Illinois Central Railroad in the southern part of the state. The remainder of their "hundred days" service was spent as garrison troops at Cairo, Illinois. During this time they made two reconnaissances, one toward Columbus, Kentucky, and one in the direction of Benton, Missouri.

In July, 1861, the regiment was again mustered and re-enlisted for three years' service with the colors. Soon afterward it moved to Mounds, taking station there and remaining in that place until January, 1862. During that month the 10th Regiment moved south in a feint against Columbus as a part of General Grant's campaign against the Confederate forces at Columbus and Belmont. After the retirement of the Union forces the 10th Illinois was sent to Bird Point, Missouri to occupy the town. During its stay at Bird Point the 10th took part in a brisk engagement with the forces of Brigadier General Jeff Thomson near Sikeston, Missouri.

Early in March, 1862, the 10th Illinois was assigned to Morgan's Brigade of General E. A. Paine's Division. The

brigade was composed of the 10th and 16th Illinois Infantry and a battalion of Yates' Sharpshooters. The division was dispatched against the Confederate positions at New Madrid and Island No. 10 and took part in the siege and capture of those works. After these Confederate river defenses had fallen the 10th proceeded by steamer down the Mississippi to Fort Pillow. Upon arriving near Osceola, about six miles above the Confederate fort, General Pope's force, of which the 10th Illinois was a part, landed and prepared to invest the works. Before active operations could be begun orders were received for General Pope to join General Halleck in the vicinity of Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee, so operations against Fort Pillow came to a standstill. Pope embarked all but 1,500 of his men and proceeded by steamer to Hamburg, arriving there on April 24th, and moved up to join the Union forces under General Halleck which were slowly moving forward against the Confederate positions before Corinth. By May 3rd they had forced their way through the Four Mile Swamp and on May 30th they entered Corinth. The 10th Illinois was part of the force sent to follow up the retreating Confederates and proceeded as far as Booneville. However, it was ordered back to the vicinity of Corinth and encamped at Big Spring during June and July. On the 21st of July the regiment was ordered to the defense of Nashville and marched to that city via Tusculum, Alabama, Florence, Athens and Columbus, arriving at its destination September 12th. During the march the men had had several skirmishes with the Confederate irregular forces, losing five killed. Upon arrival at Nashville the 10th became part of the Army of the Cumberland, R. B. Mitchell's Division. From September, 1862, until July, 1863, the regiment lay at Nashville and garrisoned Fort Negley, with occasional movements in the vicinity.

In July, 1863, the 10th Illinois became part of Granger's Reserve Corps. On July 20, 1863, the regiment marched to New Fostersville and on August 24th moved to Bridgeport, Alabama. On October 1st, in company with the 10th Michigan, the 60th Illinois and a section of the Ohio Battery, the 10th made a forced march of twenty-eight miles up the valley of the Sequatchie River. Acting in conjunction with McCook's Cavalry it drove Wheeler's Confederate Cavalry out of the valley. After this engagement it fortified the valley at Anderson's Cross Road and remained there until October 24th, when it moved to Igoe's Ferry on the Tennessee. All of these maneuvers were in connection with the movement of the Union Army against the Confederate forces under General Bragg, which resulted in maneuvering Bragg out of Tennessee and led up to the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga.

The battle of Chickamauga, a Federal defeat, left the Union Army practically bottled up in Chattanooga. The 10th Illinois, as part of Granger's reserve corps, was among the troops in that area. For the most part it operated on the extreme left of the Union lines. The position of the Federal troops was precarious and their supplies were almost exhausted. Realizing the seriousness of the situation Grant at once dispatched the army corps of Sherman to their aid and McPherson with most of the garrison from Vicksburg was moved eastward. On October 22nd General Grant arrived at Chattanooga and took over the command. His first step was to open up a line of supply to Bridgeport. By the 24th movements were under way to attack the Confederate position. Rations and supplies began to arrive and the troops were soon clothed and well fed. Minor operations incident to the Federal development for the attack continued until on November 4th it was learned that Long-

street with 15,000 troops had left the Chattanooga area to attack the Federal forces at Knoxville. Every effort was bent to hasten the time of the Federal attack and on the morning of November 23rd the troops under Thomas began the attack from Chattanooga. On the 24th Sherman attacked the Confederate position on Mission Ridge. The 10th Illinois as a part of General Jeff C. Davis' Division, Army of the Cumberland, supported Sherman's attack and operated on the extreme left flank.

Immediately after bringing the battle of Chattanooga to its victorious conclusion Grant dispatched Sherman with a portion of the Army of Tennessee and Granger's Corps via the Tennessee valley to aid Burnside at Knoxville. Upon their approach Longstreet raised the siege and withdrew. The 10th Illinois as a part of Granger's Corps took part in this movement. It proceeded to Columbus, and was later recalled and went into winter quarters at Rossville, Georgia.

On January 1, 1864, the 10th Illinois was again called upon to reënlist. The men were mustered by Captain C. O. Howard, U.S.A., on January 8th with a total strength of 394. On the 10th the regiment left for home on thirty-day furlough with orders to rendezvous at Quincy, Illinois. On February 22nd the veterans left Quincy for the front with 200 additional recruits, returning to Rossville where they remained until May 2. On that date they broke camp and started toward Atlanta as a part of Sherman's Army.

On March 4, 1861, Grant was given command of the Union armies. At last under centralized control the Federal forces moved toward a common goal. The main objectives were Lee's army before Richmond in the east; in the west Joseph E. Johnston's army before Dalton. By May 4th the 10th Illinois of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division,

14th Army Corps was moving south as a portion of Sherman's force, aiming for Resaca, eighteen miles in the rear of Johnston's position at Dalton. This threat to his line of communication forced Johnston to give up his prepared position and fight the battle of Buzzards' Roost and Resaca in which the 10th Illinois took part. The Confederates were defeated and retired on Cassville. The Union forces took up the pursuit, moving in parallel columns. The 10th as a part of Davis's Division operated on the extreme right, moving by way of Rome, thence to Dallas, and was engaged in the fighting around that place and rejoined the main army at Ackworth, June 3rd.

On June 27th the 10th Illinois took part in the struggle for the heights of Kenesaw Mountain. At the crossing of the Chattahoochee, July 18th, the regiment engaged in a skirmish with Confederates and lost several killed and wounded. Almost two months were consumed in siege operations, and small engagements were continuous. In these the 10th did its fair share. On August 20th the regiment was transferred to the Army of the Tennessee, 3rd Brigade, 4th Division, 16th Corps, and a short time later to the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, 17th Corps. Hood, the Confederate commander, abandoned Atlanta on August 31st and started on a raid against Sherman's line of communications in an attempt to draw him north. During the early part of this movement the 7th Illinois Infantry, another Southern Illinois militia regiment, distinguished itself in the gallant defense of Allatoona.

It was not Sherman's intention to be drawn away and after sending strong forces to his rear to engage the Confederates under Hood he concentrated his main army at Atlanta. On November 15th the March to the Sea began. The 10th

Illinois moved out as a part of the Army of the Tennessee. One or two minor skirmishes marked the march to Savannah. The Confederate General Hardie, fearing to be penned up, evacuated the city and on December 21, 1864, Sherman entered Savannah.

After refitting and allowing his men a well-earned rest Sherman left Savannah to march north through the Carolinas. His army moved out in parallel columns, the 14th Army Corps on the left, the 15th Corps in the center, and the 17th, of which the 10th Illinois was a part, on the right. The 10th Illinois left Savannah on January 3, 1865, on transports and debarked at Beaufort on the 9th where they remained until January 13th. On that day their division (Mower's) moved out to Pocotaligo. Attempts were made to effect a crossing of the Salkahatchie which was at flood stage, but it was found to be impossible and the division moved up the stream and finally effected a crossing at River's Bridge on February 3rd. The crossing was hotly contested by Confederate forces and the division lost about 125 men. The action lasted from 7:00 A. M. until dark. From this point the 10th proceeded to Midway, crossing the Edisto at Binicher's Bridge, outflanked the enemy and drove him from his position. They continued on through Orangeburg, Columbia, Winnsboro, Cheraw to Fayetteville, skirmishing with the enemy and destroying the railroads. At Fayetteville the regiment was detached and ordered to throw a pontoon bridge across the Cape Fear River. The bridge completed, lodgment for the brigade was effected on the opposite bank, the enemy's cavalry driven off, and the march on Goldsboro was resumed. Word was received that the left and center of the advance were heavily engaged at Bentonville and the 10th Illinois, together with the rest of the Corps, proceeded by forced marches in time to engage in

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the battle on the 20th and 21st of March. The Confederate forces retired and the march was resumed on the 22nd, moving to Goldsboro and thence to Raleigh, arriving there April 13th. Lee had surrendered on the 7th, and on the 18th General Johnston gave up the useless struggle.

After the surrender the 10th Illinois moved to Richmond, Fredericksburg, and then to Washington to take part in the grand review of the Union Army.

The Regiment then proceeded to Louisville and was mustered out of the Federal service July 4, 1865.

The service of the 10th Illinois Infantry had carried it into almost every theatre of operation. It had protected southern Illinois from invasion, helped to hold Missouri for the Union, assisted in breaking the Confederate hold on the Mississippi at New Madrid and Island No. 10, participated in Sherman's campaigns in Tennessee and in the capture of Atlanta, had marched in the March to the Sea and campaigned in the Carolinas. It was a worthy record.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The lessons learned in the War between the States pointed clearly to the necessity of revising the old militia system. The old system worked well enough during the days of the Indian wars when local defense was a matter of primary importance, but what was needed now was an organized state force ready to take the field at once in national emergencies. The first step in this direction was the organization of the State Guards which were in turn followed by the National Guard.

The old system of county militia was abandoned and the area now assigned the 130th Infantry was given the duty of raising and maintaining the 4th and 5th Regiments of Infantry.

At the outbreak of the war with Spain the President, through the Secretary of War, called on Illinois to furnish seven regiments. The call was issued April 25, 1898, and directed that "the regiments of the National Guard or State Militia be used so far as their number will permit." In compliance with this request the 1st Brigade was ordered to mobilize and seven regiments of infantry and one of cavalry rendezvoused at Springfield on the 27th. Among them were the 4th and 5th Illinois Infantry.

The 5th Regiment was mustered into the Federal service on May 5th at Chicamauga Park where it remained in training until August 3rd, when it entrained for Newport News, arriving at that place August 5th. The regiment remained in camp at Newport News until the 18th when it was transferred to Lexington, Kentucky. On September 5th it returned to Springfield and was mustered out of the Federal service October 16th, 1898.

The 4th Illinois was mustered into the Federal service on May 20th and on the 26th left Springfield enroute to Jacksonville, Florida, arriving there May 29th. The regiment remained in camp undergoing training until November 28th, when it moved to Savannah, Georgia, where it embarked for Cuba, leaving on January 3, 1899, aboard the U.S.A.T. *Mobile*. On January 5th it arrived at Havana, and took station at Camp Columbia.

Upon arrival in Cuba the 4th Illinois became part of the Army of Occupation. The period from January 6th to April 4th was devoted to usual garrison duty around Havana except for one march to Guines and return which took the regiment away between February 19th and 24th. Regimental headquarters, 1st and 2nd battalions, broke camp and embarked on the steamers *Whitney* and *Yarmouth* on

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April 4th and arrived at Camp McKenzie via Tampa on April 11th. The 3rd battalion left Cuba April 12th aboard the *Whitney* and arrived at Camp McKenzie, near Augusta, Georgia, April 19, 1899. The regiment was mustered out May 2, 1899.

During the service in Cuba the 4th had been part of General Fitzhugh Lee's Seventh Army Corps.

BORDER SERVICE AND THE WORLD WAR 130TH INFANTRY, 4TH ILL. INFANTRY

After the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1914 the relations of the United States with our southern neighbor became increasingly strained. In June, 1916, President Wilson issued his call for mobilization of the National Guard, and on June 29 the 4th Infantry, I. N. G., was mustered into the Federal service at Springfield and soon proceeded to Camp Wilson, San Antonio, Texas, for duty. The regiment remained there for a period of nine months. During that time the regiment was given intensive training and took part in the two-hundred-mile march from San Antonio to Austin, Texas. In March, 1917, the Illinois troops were returned to their homes and mustered out. The 4th was the last regiment to leave Camp Wilson and was mustered out at Fort Sheridan March 15, 1917.

After the return of state control the regiment was called by state authority for duty at Mattoon after the cyclone there. A little later the regiment was dispatched to East St. Louis to quell the race riot at that point. On July 25, in response to the call of the President, the regiment mobilized at its various home stations, started training and recruited up to strength.

October 12, 1917, the regiment proceeded to Camp Logan, Houston, Texas, where it was reorganized as the 130th

Infantry. The regiment remained at Camp Logan until May 3, 1918, when it proceeded by rail to Camp Upton, New York, and embarked on the U.S.N.T. *Agamemnon* on May 16th. It arrived at Brest, France, May 24th and landed May 26th.

After a week at Pontanezen barracks the 130th Infantry entrained for the British front, arriving at Oisemont June 1 and 2. Under British guidance the troops were trained in the newest methods of warfare. Early in June the 130th Infantry moved to Eu and on June 21st moved on to the Long area where it was given additional battle training and details were assigned to the Australian Corps for actual front line experience in tours of four days each. On July 17th the regiment moved forward and took position in reserve behind the Australians. Regimental headquarters were established behind Querrieu and the 2nd and 3rd battalion occupied the "Card System" of trenches and detachments were sent forward to serve beside the Australians.

On August 5th the regiment moved to position in Moliens Woods. The 3rd battalion occupied the trenches near Albert, August 7th, while the balance of the regiment went forward to act as combat liaison between the British and Australian flanks; in the attack of August 8th and during the subsequent fighting it relieved a part of the British 14th Division on the line between the Ancre and Somme rivers at Morlancourt. On the 11th the regiment was relieved by a portion of the British 142nd Brigade. On the 12th the 130th Infantry was assigned to the 18th British Division, then in the line at Albert where the companies rotated in the line with the British until August 20th when word was received that the 33rd Division was to move to the American sector. During the period of service with the British the 130th lost six killed and twenty-nine wounded.

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By August 28th the regiment had arrived behind the American front and on September 5th and 6th it moved into the Verdun sector. On September 21-22 the 130th Infantry marched to Moulin Brule and Bois de Ville to take part in the offensive down the Meuse Valley. The 1st battalion was assigned to assist the 108th Engineer regiment in placing a bridge across Forges Creek on September 26th. The 2nd and 3rd battalions were in divisional reserve. The entire regiment moved forward to Bethencourt on the 26th. On the 29th it relieved the 320th Regiment of the American 80th Division in the Bois de Cote Lemont.

The 130th Infantry continued in this position for more than two weeks. During that time it lost nine officers and twenty-six enlisted men killed and one hundred thirty-five wounded, but inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, capturing six trench mortars and twenty machine guns besides quantities of munitions.

On the 15th of October the 132nd Regiment relieved the 130th and the latter moved to the right bank of the Meuse and took over the area of the 129th Regiment north of Consenvoys October 16th. The 3rd battalion, 130th, had been attached to the 129th Regiment and had already seen service in the area on the morning of October 10th. The 130th continued to hold the captured area taken over from the 129th and 3rd battalion 130th until October 21st, losing twenty-three enlisted men killed and three officers and sixty-six men wounded. On October 21st it was relieved by the Second French Colonial Infantry and then withdrew to the vicinity of Fort de Bourrus.

On the night of the 21st of October the 130th Infantry marched twenty-two miles to Rupt-en-Woëvre and went into the lines, relieving the 313 Infantry, American 77th

Division. This area included the towns of Frisnes, Camp-lon and Saulx. Strong patrols were kept operating to the front constantly.

A raid by Companies A and C against the German position in the Chateau d' Aulnois was staged on November 7th, resulting in its capture and destruction. One German officer and twenty-two enlisted men were captured and the 130th lost two men killed and eight wounded during the encounter. Lt. Richard L. McMunn and Pvt. 1cl John G. Burr were decorated with the Distinguished Service Cross for gallantry displayed in this engagement.

On the morning of November 10 an attack was delivered against the enemy position in the vicinity of Marcheville, which was captured and held. Six German officers and eighty-two enlisted men were captured and twelve machine guns destroyed. As a result of their gallantry in this action Captain Givens, Pvt. Clarence G. Mallott, and 1st Sgt. Curtis M. Crisp were decorated with the D. S. C.

On the morning of November 11th the attack was renewed. At 8:21 word of the armistice was received and firing ceased with the regiment holding the captured ground. The casualties of the regiment for the two days were thirty-three men killed and twelve officers and 306 enlisted men wounded. Eleven men had been captured and three were reported missing. During the period July 12-November 11, 1918, total losses were as follows:

	Officers	Enlisted Men
Killed in action.....	0	89
Wounded in action.....	25	537
Prisoners	0	11
Missing	0	3
Total	25	690

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During their front line service the 130th had been opposed by the 10th Bavarian Infantry, the 1st Austrian Division, the 5th Prussian Storm Battalion, the 212 Infantry R. I. R., the 60th Landwehr Regiment, the 365 Landwehr Regiment and the 2nd Austrian Division.

On the 12th of November the 130th Infantry was relieved and returned to the vicinity of Ambly where it refitted and secured replacements and enjoyed a well-earned rest. On December 7th the march to Luxemburg began, the regiment arriving there on December 20th.

For four months the 130th as a portion of the Army of Occupation garrisoned the area in the vicinity of Bettendorf, Luxemburg.

On April 22nd the 130th Infantry with the other units of the 33rd Division were inspected and reviewed at Ettelbrück by General Pershing. On April 24th the first men of the regiment had entrained on the first leg of the homeward journey, and by May 11th embarked from Brest. On May 20th the regiment landed at Hoboken and after a short stay at Camp Mills, New York, it entrained for Chicago and Camp Grant. On May 31st the demobilization was completed and the troops returned to their home.

In March, 1917, the 5th Infantry was called to duty as guards on the principal bridges in the lower part of the State and continued on this duty until ordered to Camp Logan.

Upon the organization of the 33rd Division it became necessary to break up some of the infantry regiments to provide special troops for the Division, and under this reorganization the 5th Infantry became the 123rd Machine Gun Battalion.

The battalion trained at Camp Logan until May 1, 1918, when with other troops of the Division it entrained for Camp Upton, and on May 16th sailed for France on the transport *Agamemnon*. Arriving at Brest, France, on May 24th, the battalion remained at Pontanezen Barracks for five days and then moved by rail to Oisemont in the British Somme sector for training. On June 9th, the battalion was transferred to Cuverville where it remained for two weeks, moving to Eaucourt on June 21st. At Eaucourt intensive training was carried on until July 14th under British control. It arrived at Bois de Querrieu on July 16th where Companies A and B went into the lines with the 3rd Australian Division near Hangard and Cachy and Company D with the 2nd Australian Division in and about Villers-Bretonneux. The battalion received valuable training and instruction during this period with the Australians and made their first active contact with the enemy.

On August 6th the 123rd Machine Gun Battalion, together with the other troops of the 65th American Infantry Brigade, left the Australian Corps and joined the 3rd British Corps. The 123rd M. G. Battalion marched to Daily Mail Wood where it remained until August 8th. On that date orders were received to go into the line with the 18th British Division. These orders were changed so that the 18th British Division with the 123rd M. G. Battalion attached moved into the Albert sector and relieved the 47th American Division.

Companies A and B occupied positions in the vicinity of Benencourt, Companies C and D between Buire-sur-l'Ancre and the Albert-Amiens Road. Headquarters were at Baizieu. They held these positions until August 21st. During this operation the battalion lost twelve wounded.

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Upon relief from front line position the battalion was relieved from British control and moved to Molliens-sur-Bois, and on August 25th started for the American front, arriving at Valaines August 29th, where they remained for five days. The battalion then moved on to Jouy-en-Argonne, and on September 8-9 Companies A and B took positions on Hill 304 with the 129th Infantry. Company C went into position at Ancreville Farm and Company D was held in reserve at Bethelainville. These positions were held until Sept. 21 when Companies C and D were moved to Bois de Sartelles. Two days later they moved to Bois de Ville and then to Beaumont Farm for the attack of September 26th. Companies A and B remained in position until passed through by assault troops and then moved to Hill 281 south of Gercourt and went into position. Companies C and D moved forward with the 130th Infantry in the attack, halting in the afternoon of the 27th on Hill 281.

On the 28th the entire 65th Brigade moved to Bois d'en Dela preparing to relieve the 80th American Division, which was completed September 29th. Company C then went into position in the Bois de Dannevoux, Company B in Bois de la Cote Lemont, and Companies A and D remained in Bois d'en Dela and Bois de Septsarges as brigade reserve. They did not remain in reserve long, for on October 3rd they moved into position between Bois de Brioules and Brioules-sur-Meuse to protect the left flank of the 33rd Division and assist the 4th American Division. They were reinforced the following morning by two companies of the 124th M. G. Battalion and continued in action until October 7th. The two companies of the 124th M. G. Battalion were relieved on that date but the 123rd companies remained until October 10th. On that date they reported for

duty with the 66th Brigade near Consenvoye. On October 14th Companies A and D were joined by Battalion Headquarters and Company C.

On the night of October 16th Company B was relieved by a company of the 124th M. G. Battalion and rejoined its own battalion.

Upon reporting to the 66th Brigade, Companies A and D were sent to assist in the fighting in the Bois de Chaume and the Bois du Plat Chene and were relieved by machine gun companies of the 130th and 129th Regiments on October 19th and 20th, respectively.

The 123d M. G. Battalion as a part of the 65th Brigade marched to Bois de Lolime and Bois de Bourrus. From there Battalion Headquarters and Companies B and C proceeded to Sommedieu with the 129th Regiment, and Companies A and D moved to Rupt-en-Woëvre with the 130th Regiment. During this operation the battalion lost fourteen killed and ninety-seven wounded.

On the night of October 24-25 the 123rd relieved the 311th M. G. Battalion in the Connecticut sub-sector, a part of the old St. Mihiel salient; companies B and C in the front line position with companies A and D in reserve.

On November 7th Company D assisted elements of the 130th Regiment in their raid on Chateau D'Aulnois. On the morning of November 10th Companies C and D assisted the 130th in its assault on Marcheville. The same companies assisted the 130th in its attack launched the morning of November 11th which was halted by the signing of the Armistice.

The battalion returned to its jump-off positions where it remained until assembled at Genicourt to prepare for the

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march into Germany. After twelve days' marching the troops arrived in Luxemburg where they went into winter quarters. Headquarters and Companies A and D were quartered at Erpeldange and Companies C and D occupied Burden and Ingledorff. The battalion remained in Luxemburg until April 26, 1919, when the homeward journey began.

The 123rd Battalion sailed from Brest, May 11th, on the U.S.A.T. *Siboney*, arriving at Hoboken, May 20th. From this point it proceeded to Camp Mills; thence to Chicago and Camp Grant, and by May 30th the regiment had been mustered out of the Federal service.

BATTLES AND ENGAGEMENTS

REVOLUTIONARY WAR: ILLINOIS COUNTY MILITIA

Vincennes, 1779

Wabash River Expedition, 1779

Cahokia, 1780

Montgomery's Expedition to Peoria Lakes, 1780

Expedition against Fort St. Joseph, 1871

WAR OF 1812: 4TH REGIMENT AND TERRITORIAL MILITIA

Peoria Lake, 1812

Peoria Lake, 1813

Prairie du Chien, 1814

Rock Island, 1814

INDIAN WARS OF 1827 AND 1832: 4TH REGIMENT & COUNTY MILITIA

Winnebago War, 1827

Black Hawk War, 1832

MEXICAN WAR: 4TH REGIMENT

Vera Cruz

Cerro Gordo

MAJ. WALTER SHEA WOOD, U.S.A.

CIVIL WAR: 10TH REGIMENT

New Madrid
Island No. 10
Corinth
Buzzard's Roost
Resaca
Kenesaw Mountain
Atlanta
Benicher's Bridge
Bentonville

SPANISH WAR: 4TH REGIMENT

Cuban Army of Occupation

MEXICAN BORDER, 1916: 4TH REGIMENT

Border Service

WORLD WAR: 130TH INFANTRY AND 123D MACHINE
GUN BATTALION

Somme Offensive
Meuse Argonne
Lorraine
Picardy

HISTORICAL NOTES THE OLDEST TOWN IN ILLINOIS

A few months ago, because of the disastrous flood which almost destroyed it, Shawneetown was frequently in the news of the day. At that time it was often referred to as Illinois' oldest settlement, or the state's first settlement, or its oldest town. None of these designations, of course, is correct, but they served to arouse interest in the question: What is the oldest town in Illinois?

In a letter published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Mar. 9, 1937, Dr. H. K. Croessmann of DuQuoin nominated Prairie du Rocher for the honor. His letter follows:

Even with Kaskaskia gone, within the memory of those still not aged; granted that Cahokia and Prairie du Pont are scarcely more than locations; leaving out St. Philip, Ste. Anne and others whose very locations are almost forgotten—even so, what are you going to do with Prairie du Rocher? This compact and living little town has nestled at the foot of the Illinois bluffs and in its present location since 1722.

Without in any way wishing to detract from the glorious past of old Shawneetown, in all honesty it is not much older than Illinois' statehood. It is doubtful if it existed as a white settlement before 1800. As for historic Kaskaskia, even though it was the most populous and the most important both commercially and politically of the Illinois French settlements, the truth is that Cahokia can claim that it was founded earlier than Kaskaskia.

But Prairie du Rocher's age is as certain as such things can be. What are you going to do about REALLY historic Prairie du Rocher?

Sister Mary Borgias Palm, whose study, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1673-1763*, contains the most accurate account of the founding of the Illinois villages, has this to say of Prairie du Rocher:

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A Randolph County atlas, 1875, refers to the town as being founded in 1722 and incorporated in 1725. Beuckman [*The Messenger*, Randolph County, 19] believes that some families were settled there as early as 1722 and quotes Thwaites as giving 1733 as the date of the foundation of the village. Moses [*Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, I, 99] also states that the village was laid out in 1733 on land granted to Boisbriant and transferred to his nephew. Rothensteiner finds its origin "in 1734 when St. Joseph's Mortuary Chapel was erected near the bluffs, to be used as a chapel of ease, by the people of Fort Chartres" [*History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 69].

All that appears to be certain is that a grant of the land upon which the village was situated was made to Boisbriant in 1721; that this grant was transferred to Langlois, the holder's nephew, and that the village was established some time before 1734. Memoirs on the Illinois Country of date as late as 1732 describing both French and Indian settlements make no mention of Prairie du Rocher [Archives Nationales, Colonies, F3:235-241].

In the same work from which this quotation is taken, the author definitely establishes the year 1699 as the date of the founding of Cahokia. Cahokia flourished for more than a century and exists even today, though as a small, scattered settlement rather than as a compact village. Kaskaskia was founded in 1703, and existed continuously until late in the nineteenth century, when the Mississippi River shifted its course and destroyed it completely.

No one attempting to identify the oldest settlement in Illinois would be justified in overlooking Chicago. Unfortunately, known records do not enable one to speak with certainty. Milo M. Quaife, in *Checagou* (pp. 29-31), summarizes the existing evidence as follows:

The question as to who was the first permanent settler of Chicago cannot be answered with entire precision. We have already seen that Marquette was here for several weeks in 1674-75, and André Eno and Jean Filatreau for several months in 1683. Another Frenchman who lived at Chicago for several years in this early period was the Sieur de Liette, a

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relative of Henry Tonty, who, a mere youth, joined that leader at Fort St. Louis in 1687, and remained in Illinois for fifteen years thereafter. He subsequently wrote a vivid memoir of the Illinois country, and of his sojourn there, in which he states that for four consecutive years he was stationed at the more important of the two Miami villages at Chicago. The precise years of his residence here are not identified, but they would seem to have fallen within the decade 1692-1702. Quite possibly De Liette was one of the Frenchmen whose presence here in 1698 is so casually mentioned by Father St. Cosme. That various traders and squawmen came and went, and tarried at Chicago for longer or shorter periods, during the next seventy-five years, is a reasonable presumption. Certain reports, indeed, of such residence here, have been handed down from the eighteenth century. One was recorded by Governor Reynolds, who knew at Cahokia a century or so ago an aged Frenchwoman who was said to have resided, with her husband, for several years at Chicago about the year 1765.

Another early resident, the print of whose remembrance has all but vanished, was the trader Guary or Guillory. Gurdon S. Hubbard, who first visited Chicago as a young fur-trade apprentice in 1818, was told by Antoine des Champs, then a veteran in the Illinois River fur trade, that Guary had lived at Chicago as early as 1778, and the remains of a corn-field cultivated by him were pointed out to Hubbard. Although this story rests on oral tradition, supporting evidence is not wanting. The government exploring expedition of Major Stephen H. Long passed through Chicago in 1823, and its historian designates the north branch as "Gary River." Since the writer was a professor in the University of Pennsylvania, with no local knowledge of Chicago, some informant here must have told him that this was the name of the river. The trader whose fame was thus celebrated was evidently a member of the Guillory (sometimes spelled Guyari) family of Mackinac. Joseph Guillory came from Montreal to that place prior to 1747, in which year he married Louise Bolon there. The Bolons were long residents of St. Joseph, and Jean Baptiste Guillory, who was probably a son of Joseph, was engaged in trade at both St. Joseph and the Illinois at the time of the American Revolution. In 1778 he was licensed to convey two canoe-loads of goods to "Illinois via St. Joseph"; the next year he became one of the proprietors of the general store at Mackinac; and a document of July 21, 1781,

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shows that he had been operating at St. Joseph in 1779-80. These facts, together with others which might be recited, suggest the probability that the trader whose story the aged Des Champs reported to Hubbard was Jean Baptiste Guillory, and inspire the hope that more definite record concerning this early settler of Chicago may some time be found.

As the evidence stands, Quaife concludes that the permanent settlement of Chicago began with Jean Baptiste Point Sable, who located there in 1783 or 1784.

The final claimant for the honor of being the first permanent settlement in Illinois is Peoria. Its advocate is Ernest E. East, President of the Peoria Historical Society, who contributes the following brief:

European settlement of Peoria dates from January, 1680, when La Salle erected Fort Crevecoeur. La Salle's post had a life of only a few months.

Tonty and LaForest early in 1692 completed the removal of Fort Saint Louis from Starved Rock to Peoria Lake (Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, 100), "the first permanent village in the Illinois," and here sons of France and their descendants lived for more than a century. It is probable that European occupation of the region of Peoria Lake had several interruptions. French from the time of La Salle maintained a friendly alliance with the Illinois Indian tribes. French traders went where the savages went. They shifted to new hunting grounds or retreated before their enemies. The Peoria remained on the upper Illinois River long after the Kaskaskia departed from Peoria Lake in or before 1700 (Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France*, VI, 71; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 65, 101; *ibid.*, 263 n.) Cahokia Indians were in the vicinity of the place that became Cahokia for some time before 1700.

Tonty and LaForest quit the Illinois about 1702 but missionary priests labored among the savages for some years afterward (Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 103-4; Kellogg on Gravier, *Dictionary of American Biography*). At Peoria in 1705, a Peoria Indian wounded Father Gravier with an arrow from the effects of which he died (Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 66, 247; Wallace, *History of Illinois and Louisiana*, 206; Alvord, *Illinois Country*, p. 136).

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Other evidence tends to prove French were at Peoria for at least eight years before Kaskaskia and Cahokia were inhabited by Europeans, and that French were at Peoria intermittently if not continuously until after the date of American occupation in 1819.

The silence that makes this period of Illinois history puzzling has been only partly broken by recent discovery of documents bearing on events in the Illinois River valley but these support rather than discount the theory that Peoria was substantially a continuous French settlement.

In 1723, Phillip Francois Renault received from the Company of the Indies a concession at Pimiteoui (Peoria Lake), where there was a "village" (*American State Papers*, Public Lands, III, 189). Inhabitants or former inhabitants of Peoria in 1807 petitioned Congress and received authority to present land claims for confirmation: Petitioners stated that some of their ancestors had settled at "Pioria" as early as 1730 (photo-stat in Illinois Historical Survey). Ensign Boucherville, commanding at Fort Beautharnois, fled in 1728 toward the Illinois to escape the Foxes, was taken by Mascoutins and Kickapoo and conducted to Peoria (Kellogg, *The French Regime*, 322). There is evidence of a fort at Peoria from 1752 until the end of the French Regime (Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 236n).

The question of the oldest settlement in Illinois appears to be a matter of definition. If the settlement must be in existence today, Kaskaskia is eliminated. If it must exist as a compact village—that is, with dwellings close together, and with a store or two and a post office—Cahokia must be ruled out. If its history must be continuous, and if that word is to be interpreted literally, both Chicago and Peoria must yield to Prairie du Rocher. If, however, the word "continuous" is given a liberal meaning, Peoria's claim appears to be well founded.

P. M. A.

FOUND: THE STATE HOUSE CORNER STONE

October 5, 1868, was a gala day in Springfield. From early morning throngs poured into the capital—on horseback, in carriages, by special trains. By nine o'clock the

streets were crowded. All was noise and excitement. Horsemen with silken sashes dashed from place to place, bands played, and military companies marched and counter-marched.

The occasion was the laying of the corner stone of the new state house (the present capitol). But this was more than the ordinary ceremonial which usually marks the placing of the keystone of a public building. The new state house was to be a massive structure, and there was general agreement that it typified the importance of the state. Only fifty years had passed since Illinois had been admitted to Union, yet in that time it had grown from a frontier commonwealth largely uninhabited to a great state whose citizens numbered nearly two and a half millions, and its importance in the nation was commensurate with its size. Of all this the new state house was the symbol.

Therefore the ceremonies were elaborate. Downtown a huge procession formed, paraded through the streets, and then marched to the slight elevation where the foundation of the new capitol had been laid. There the Masonic fraternity took charge. The stone was put in place with the full ritual of the order while cannon boomed and bands played "Auld Lang Syne." Then Miles B. Castle read a poem celebrating the progress of the state, and John Dean Caton, chief justice of the state supreme court, delivered the oration of the day. After his address the procession headed for the skating rink, where more than a thousand guests sat down to a banquet in a hall decorated with the battle flags of the Illinois regiments. The banquet concluded with toasts by many of Illinois' most prominent citizens.

According to the newspapers of the day, the primary object of all this ceremony—the cornerstone—was a massive

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block eight feet three inches long, four feet wide and three feet thick. On it was the following inscription:

Erected by an Act of the General Assembly,
approved February 25, 1867.

COMMISSIONERS

Jacob Bunn, President.
John W. Smith.
James C. Robinson.
James H. Beveridge.
Philip Wadsworth.
William L. Hambleton.
William T. Vandever.
J. C. Webber, Secretary.
John C. Cochrane, Architect and Superintendent.

STATE OFFICERS

Richard J. Oglesby, Governor.
William Bross, Lieutenant Governor.
Sharon Tyndale, Secretary of State.
Orlin H. Miner, Auditor.
George W. Smith, Treasurer.
Robert G. Ingersoll, Attorney General.
Newton Bateman, Superintendent Public Instruction.
Laid by the Masonic Fraternity, A. D. 1868,
A. L. 5868, Jerome R. Gorin. M. W. G. M.

But no stone answering this description is to be found in the state house today. In fact, the structure contains no stone with any inscription.

Here would seem to be a first class mystery, for a huge cornerstone simply doesn't evaporate. To explain it, a story has persisted in Springfield for many years. Ardent Masons, it is said, and others of tender religious sensibilities, were deeply offended by the inclusion on the stone of the name of Robert G. Ingersoll, notorious for his agnosticism. These people, the story goes, banded together soon after the

ceremony, surreptitiously removed the stone and buried it in a deep pit on the state house grounds. Of course nothing of that sort could be kept secret, but by common consent the episode was hushed up.

However, in recent years this story has been received with increasing skepticism. The files of both Springfield papers—the *Illinois State Register* and the *Illinois State Journal*—were searched repeatedly for months after October 5, 1868, but no hint of the removal of the cornerstone could be found. To many it has seemed unlikely that such an occurrence could have escaped publicity completely. Still, in the absence of any contemporary record, the story could not be disproved.

Recently, however, the writer was leafing through a file of the *Illinois State Journal* for the latter part of 1870 when his eye caught the words, "corner stone." In the issue for October 23, in an article summarizing recent progress in the building of the state house, was this passage:

Our readers will remember that the corner stone of the building was laid last fall with appropriate ceremonies by the Masonic Order. That stone was obtained, we believe, from the Hamilton quarries, and was immense in its proportions; but it worked very poorly, and owing to the splits and cracks which opened through it, it was found to be unworthy to be retained or built upon. Accordingly, it was, a few days ago, removed from the wall and buried in the ground in front of the corner; and on yesterday a new cornerstone was placed in position. No ceremonies whatever took place on the occasion, the only persons present being Col. Beveridge, one of the Commissioners, the contractors, and a few curious citizens. The tin box containing coins, papers, etc., which had been deposited with the former stone, was securely sunk in the new one, while various additional contributions were made by those present.

The new corner-stone is from the Joliet quarries, and is very beautifully chiselled. The panel, which is in relief, is the segment of a circle,

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with the chord for the base. No inscription has yet been placed upon it, but whether the Commissioners intend having this done, or to leave the matter with the General Assembly, we are not advised.

The words "last fall" are of course a slip, for two years had elapsed since the corner stone was laid.

If this article can be taken at face value, a very prosaic reason accounts for the displacement of the original stone. Many, however, still insist that the supposed cracking of the stone was mere subterfuge, that it is as sound as it ever was, and that the name of Robert G. Ingersoll was the sole reason for removing it. Apparently the question can be settled only by unearthing the stone, which has not yet been done. If it should turn out to be badly cracked, the Ingersoll story falls apart; if the stone is sound, the story is substantially true, for only the time element is in error.

At any rate, even as the matter stands now, progress has been made. Not only has the approximate location of the original stone been determined, but the present corner stone has been identified. On one of the corners near the east portico is a stone with the segment of a circle in relief. No other distinguishing mark sets it apart, and therefore no one has recognized its true character.

P. M. A.

THE HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY IN ILLINOIS

The Historical Records Survey began operations early in 1936 with the purpose of preparing an inventory of the records of state and local governments. It was realized that a

failure to acquire information concerning historical collections and to preserve the documentary evidence of the past would be likely to result in the permanent loss of much of our historical heritage and to handicap greatly the exacting scholar as he attempted to chronicle the events of yesterday. The framers of this project, therefore, had in mind not only the idea of reconstructing the past by preparing an inventory of various documentary remains, but also the desire to call attention to valuable material such as public archives—state, county and municipal—as well as institutional records and scattered private manuscript collections which have been neglected.

For some time enterprises similar to the one under discussion have been growing in number and importance as a result of the interest of libraries, historical associations, professional societies, and universities. These general surveys, confined to definite localities because of obvious limitations, served their purpose in providing an opening wedge for the larger work to come. It was for the Works Progress Administration to give reality to a nation-wide survey. With funds made available to presidential letter of November 16, 1935, and a national office established, the opening of 1936 found a staff of workers ready to begin operations in this state. The survey in Illinois was prepared not only to take its place in the general program and purpose of the Works Progress Administration, but also to contribute to the field of historical research.

At the outset it was evident that the very nature of the project necessitated contacts with various professional people for the purpose of gaining technical guidance and advice. Such people as the Honorable Edward J. Hughes, Secretary of State and State Librarian; Miss Margaret C.

Norton, Superintendent, Archives Division of the State Library; Dr. Herbert A. Kellar, Director of the McCormick Historical Association; Dr. A. F. Kuhlman, then Associate Director, University of Chicago Libraries; Professor Theodore C. Pease of the History Department of the University of Illinois; and Mr. Paul M. Angle, Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library were consulted for suggestions and asked to compose a somewhat unofficial advisory board. The impetus given to the Historical Records Survey from the first because of the interest and sponsorship of these people and the institutions represented by them was such as to bring to the project a high degree of community recognition throughout the state. This group of professional sponsors is especially significant for, possessed of extensive knowledge and wide experience, they have given to the survey technical information, emotional stimulation, and a belief in the importance and value of the project.

The immediate purpose of the Illinois Historical Records Survey was to prepare an inventory of the county archives. This inventory of the records of the 102 counties in Illinois takes into account such things as quantity and extent of records, a summary of their contents, and a description of their condition and location. The historical importance of this information is apparent when one makes but a cursory examination of the public records. Such records as minute books, order books, ledgers, deed books, and court dockets contain otherwise unavailable information on local matters. One aspect of the day-to-day story of a community is to be found in the official records of its governmental officers. To the conscientious researcher the public archives are sufficient in themselves for an adequate reconstruction of numerous phases of the past.

Important as all these records are, their value is too often limited by a lack of accessibility. Considering the vast number of existing documents of local governments, it is impossible to think of making any analytical or statistical study based upon these records without a complete physical inventory. Where access has been gained to certain of the public archives it is frequently found that their poor state of preservation has destroyed their present or future usefulness. Information collected on the liability of these documents to damage by water or general deterioration, the fire-proof character of storage building, and other similar conditions will make possible the adoption of scientific measures for their preservation and care. An incidental result of the work of the survey has been the arousing of certain officials and local committees to a new interest in the documentary evidence of the past. Immediate results were seen in steps taken to organize, reconstruct, and properly shelve hitherto neglected records.

Field work on the county archives was actually started in March, 1936, with a staff of 175 people. This number gradually increased until the peak of 214 employees was reached on June 15, 1936. Minor fluctuations caused by occasional removals of individuals to private industry carried along until the middle of December, when the general labor curtailment of the Works Progress Administration caused a reduction of quota to 160. This quota continues through to the present.

The field workers, operating out of offices established in each of the seven WPA districts, secured access to the various depositories and noted information concerning the records on forms supplied by the national office. When the

volume of completed inventory forms sent in from the various counties assumed workable proportions, it became the job of the survey to set up staff and procedures for the compilation of published inventories. Emphasis was gradually shifted from the record vaults to the editorial desks. It was at this stage that lack of exact precedent for work of this type on such a large scale was especially felt. Careful planning, however, as well as trial and error, soon resulted in the development of a usable editorial policy embodying variations on customary editorial procedure to meet peculiar needs. The objective was the consistent production each week of several inventories for publication.

To date, the records of 93 of the 102 counties in Illinois are listed and ready for final compilation, and seventy per cent of these have passed through the process of preliminary editing. Nine draft county inventories have been completed and sent on to the national office for final approval. With the records of most of the counties having been listed and rechecked, the field workers turned to the listing of the records of municipalities, of which 183 are now completed, and of churches, 915 of which are inventoried.

Some workers have also been used in assisting institutions in arranging, classifying, and indexing manuscript collections, such as the American Home Missionary Society manuscript collection at the Chicago Theological Seminary, the newspaper collection of the McLean County Historical Society at Bloomington, and the Augustana College and Theological Seminary manuscript collection at Rock Island. One person has been engaged under the direction of Miss Norton in the Archives Division of the Illinois State Library, on the micro-filming certain select documents of historical value. This relatively new process makes possible the pres-

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ervation of old and rare manuscripts where constant handling eventually causes deterioration. The use of microfilm photography in this field results in the conservation of storage space and obviates the possibility of damage by fire, water, or exposure. The survey photographer has reproduced all of the old records of Sangamon county on small film rolls to insure preservation.

The latter work gives an indication of the tasks of the survey after completion of the inventory of county and city records. A complete inventory of the records of all churches, of manuscript material of a historical nature in private hands, and of old business records, as well as the indexing of public records and old newspaper files all properly come within the scope of the Historical Records Survey in its endeavor to facilitate local historical research. It is foreseen that a well-executed program along these lines, in emphasizing the importance of the preservation of records generally and in making available these comparatively unused primary sources, will result in a definite contribution to American culture.

ALSTON G. FIELD,
State Director.

Chicago, Illinois,
April 1, 1937.

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The thirty-eighth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in Galesburg, May 13, 14 and 15. The meeting was a part of the centennial observance of both Galesburg and Knox College.

The program commenced on Thursday afternoon, May 13, with papers on the following subjects: "John Wentworth: His Contributions to Chicago," by Ann Steinbrecher Windle; "Congregationalism and Presbyterianism as Reflected in Galesburg Church History," by Herman Muelder; "A New Source of Information for Historians," by James Monaghan; and "The Russian Community of Chicago," by Thomas Randolph Hall.

On Thursday evening L. W. Elder, Knox College librarian, spoke on the subject, "The Mississippi as an Artistic Subject." At the conclusion of Mr. Elder's talk those in attendance visited the Henry M. Seymour Library, where an excellent exhibition of prints relating to the Mississippi had been arranged.

Another general session was held on Friday afternoon, May 14, when Henrietta Memler spoke on the subject, "History's Virgin Fields," and Trygve A. Rovelstad related personal experiences as a student and co-worker of Lorado Taft, illustrating his talk with colored films of Taft's work. After the session many of those who were present visited nearby Bishop Hill, the Swedish communal settlement which flourished for a number of years prior to the Civil War. That evening the Society's annual dinner was held

at the Galesburg Club, where Carl Sandburg spoke on the subject, "The Inquiring Mind of Abraham Lincoln."

On Saturday, May 15, Luther H. Evans, National Supervisor of the Historical Records Survey, spoke on "A Co-operative Program in Materials for Research." At the conclusion of Dr. Evans' talk, Dr. Bessie L. Pierce of the University of Chicago introduced three research associates—Joe L. Norris, Herbert Wiltsee and Dorothy Culp—who read papers on various phases of Chicago history. A discussion of the papers by Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Historical Association concluded the session. Those in attendance were guests of Knox College at luncheon.

At the Society's annual business Dr. James A. James was re-elected president, and Theodore C. Pease, Evarts Boutell Greene, John H. Hauberg, George W. Smith, Frank E. Stevens and Frank O. Lowden were elected vice-presidents. Paul M. Angle was elected secretary. Theodore C. Pease, Clint Clay Tilton, Carl E. Black, George C. Dixon and Paul M. Angle were re-elected as directors, while Jewell F. Stevens of Chicago was elected in place of Paul Steinbrecher, deceased. Bloomington was selected as the location for the next annual meeting.

An elaborate program and a good attendance marked the thirtieth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held in St. Louis on April 29, 30 and May 1. Two papers of Illinois interest were included in the program: "The Chicago Tribune," by Tracy Strevey, Northwestern University; and "The Populist Labor Alliance of 1894 in Illinois," by C. M. Destler, South Georgia Teachers College. Besides Mr. Strevey, the following representatives of Illinois institutions took part in the program:

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James G. Randall and Theodore C. Pease of the University of Illinois; Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University; Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association; Lucy Lucile Tasher, Illinois State Normal University; C. H. Cramer, Southern Illinois State Normal University; and Benton H. Wilcox, Shurtleff College.

Next year the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will meet in Indianapolis.

The *West Side Historical Society Bulletin* continues to appear at regular intervals, and furnishes proof that the society is a most active organization. The *Bulletin* for April, 1937, for example, reports an historical tour of Willow Springs on October 26, 1937, in which more than one hundred members participated; a tour of the Des Plaines River region by one of the Society's junior branches; and a tour of the trail of the Chicago fire on April 18, 1937. The *Bulletin* also contains several reminiscences and other material of interest.

At the meeting of the Madison County Historical Society, held in Edwardsville in April, the following officers were elected: Mrs. Clara Needles,¹ Granite City, president; William L. Waters, Godfrey, first vice-president; H. P. S. Smith, Edwardsville, second vice-president; Douglas E. Dale, Edwardsville, secretary; E. W. Ellis, treasurer; Mrs. Annie Burton, Edwardsville, historian; Mrs. C. C. Corbitt, custodian of the museum collection.

¹Mrs. Needles died on May 20.

On April 26th the Morgan County Historical Society held its annual meeting at the Colonial Inn, Jacksonville. Dr. R. O. Stoops spoke on the outstanding individuals in the county's history.

The three-hundredth anniversary of the death of Pere Marquette was commemorated by the Peoria Historical Society at its annual dinner meeting May 25. The Rev. Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J., Loyola University, Chicago, spoke on "Marquette and the March of Civilization." At the business meeting preceding Father Jacobsen's address, Mr. Ernest E. East was elected president of the society for the ensuing year.

The year 1937 marks the three-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jacques Marquette, with whose name the history of Illinois commences. The anniversary was opened officially in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on May 12, 1937, when Marquette University conferred a degree upon Father Bernard Hubbard, the Jesuit explorer and lecturer, who is carrying on in Alaska the same type of missionary work which Marquette undertook nearly three centuries ago. In Laon, France, Marquette's birthplace, a monument by Jean Topin was dedicated on June 1. Water from the Mississippi River was used in the ceremonies. Throughout the year many cities and organizations, especially those along the route of Marquette's explorations, plan to observe the Marquette anniversary.

Jacques Marquette was born at Laon on June 1, 1637. At the age of seventeen he joined the Society of Jesus and commenced the rigorous training which that order prescribes.

He was ordained in 1666, and sailed for Canada that same year. In 1673, after several years at various missions, Marquette and Louis Jolliet set out to find the Mississippi River. Following the Fox-Wisconsin route, they reached the Mississippi on June 17, and descended it to the mouth of the Arkansas. Convinced that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico instead of the Pacific, as they had hoped, they turned back. Instead of retracing their original route, they followed the Illinois and Chicago rivers, and thus became the first white men to set foot on what is now the state of Illinois. In 1674 Father Marquette returned to establish the Illinois Mission at the Great Village of the Illinois near Starved Rock. By that time his health was broken, and his physical condition was such that he was compelled to remain at the site of Chicago during the winter of 1674-75. In the spring he traveled to the Illinois Village, and then set out for Green Bay. On May 18, 1675, he died on the shore of Lake Michigan near the present city of Ludington, Michigan.

The Northwest Territory Celebration Commission offers a cash prize of \$1,000 for the best manuscript on the history of the Ordinance of 1787 and its effect upon the development of government. The manuscript must be long enough to make an octavo book of from 325 to 450 pages. any citizen of the United States is eligible to compete. The contest will close on June 1, 1938. Full particulars may be obtained by writing to the Commission at Marietta, Ohio.

On February 28, 1837, the General Assembly of Illinois, sitting at Vandalia, passed a law designating Springfield as

the future capital of the state. In mid-April of the same year Abraham Lincoln rode into Springfield on a borrowed horse and became a permanent resident. About the same time, Stephen A. Douglas arrived to become register of the Springfield land office. And on July 4, 1837, the cornerstone of the state house—the present Sangamon County court house—was laid with elaborate ceremony.

All these events make the year 1837 a notable one in the history of the capital of Illinois, and make the passage of a century worthy of commemoration. Committees have been appointed and plans are being made to observe the anniversary of these events before the end of the current year.

The city of Aurora is making extensive preparations for the celebration of its first centennial. Though first inhabited in 1834 by Samuel and Joseph McCarty, Aurora officially received its name and opened its first post office in 1837. Thus it is this particular historical event which set the date for this year's celebration, which will be climaxed by a week of extensive celebration, the week of September 5th to 11th.

Featuring the program will be the establishment of a pioneer village on Hurd's Island in the heart of the city. In this village will be built cabins made in the likeness of the old pioneer days. All will be furnished with antique furniture and other items to make them as nearly like the old time buildings as is possible. This village will be opened the latter part of August preceding the final celebration, as will also a home products exhibition of all items made in Aurora.

The celebration week itself will open up with a Church Day, Sunday, September 5th, in which all of the churches

of the city will participate in services and song. Monday, September 6th, will be Labor Day and will be given over to the Labor Day parade, the opening of the Pioneer night show which will continue for five consecutive nights. On Wednesday, the 8th of September, will be the Antique-Historical and Modern parade. In that Aurora will present a parade of antique vehicles, elaborate floats and presentation of modern times. Friday, September 10th, will be Children's Day, given over to youth activities. Sunday, September 12th, will be Veterans' Day, at which time there will be a display of drum and bugle corps from all over the state, competing for prizes.

All during the celebration, beginning late in August, there will be historical exhibits given by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, presented at the main depot on South Broadway and also adjacent to the Pioneer Village of Hurd's Island.

Commencement week at Blackburn College, Carlinville, was the occasion for celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of the institutions' founding and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the presidency of William M. Hudson. Exercises included a centennial pageant depicting the progress of the college from 1837 to the present, and a commencement address by Governor Henry Horner.

A six-day observance, beginning on June 11 and ending on June 16, marked the conclusion of the Knox College-Galesburg Centennial. The week included performances of the Centenary Pageant, a centenary parade of both city and

college, the re-dedication of Old Main with an address by Governor Henry Horner, and the inauguration of Carter Davidson as President.

Monticello, county seat of Piatt County, celebrates its centennial on July 3, 4 and 5. On Sunday, the 4th, picnics and religious exercises will be held; on the 5th there will be an historical pageant and other exercises. Judge B. A. Edie of Monticello is general chairman of the committee in charge.

The first sale of lots in Monticello took place on July 4, 1837. The town was named for the home of Thomas Jefferson in the hope—so far unfulfilled, even by local admission—that it would some day produce a man of no less stature than the great Virginian from whose estate its name was taken.

In southern Illinois plans are already being made for observing the centennial of the Cherokee migration across the state. Late in 1838, 14,000 Cherokees, forced from their homes in Georgia, started on the long journey to the reservation which had been provided for them in what is now Oklahoma. Their route led north through Tennessee and Kentucky, into Illinois at Golconda, and across the Mississippi near the present town of Ware. It was a tragic exodus, marked by suffering and death.

George W. Smith of Carbondale has accepted the chairmanship of the executive committee in charge of the centennial observance. W. N. Moyer of Mound City is the committee's secretary. The Daughters of the American Revolution, chambers of commerce, civic clubs and teachers' organization have all promised full coöperation.

As a part of the sequi-centennial celebration of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission has issued a colored pictorial map of the Northwest Territory. Important places and events in the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin are shown, and the manner in which the United States came into possession of the Northwest Territory is depicted. Copies of the map can be obtained gratis by applying to the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission, Marietta, Ohio.

On June 3 the *Bureau County Republican* celebrated Bureau County's centennial with a Centennial Edition of 120 pages. In the fifteen sections of this paper a comprehensive history of the entire county is presented, but even so, so much material had accumulated that a Post-Centennial edition was published the following week, and the editor promises numerous articles of interest in future issues. Both the Centennial Edition and its successors have been enlivened by numerous rare and interesting photographs.

On March 13, 1937, the *Woodstock Daily Sentinel* published an Eightieth Anniversary Edition. Now the oldest newspaper in McHenry County, the *Sentinel* was founded on July 17, 1856, by George L. Webb and Thomas F. Johnson. Since August, 1921, it has been issued daily.

The Eightieth Anniversary Edition contains not only a comprehensive survey of Woodstock today, but also a detailed review of the history of the city and of McHenry County as well. A great many historical pictures add value and interest to the edition.

Fourteen years ago the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago was organized. The members of this committee, whose function was the planning of social science research activities at the University, saw that in the great city at their door was their opportunity, that no more fertile field for the perfecting of methods and the testing of hypotheses could be found than Chicago itself. The result, today, is a wide range of studies in sociology, economics and politics, which, though immediately concerned with Chicago, make important contributions to the broader phases of the subjects with which they deal.

One part of this program was a definitive history of the city, begun in 1929 by Dr. Bessie Louise Pierce. On May 17 the first of four volumes made its appearance—a handsome book of 455 pages. Given the sub-title, *The Beginning of a City*,² the volume covers the years from 1673 to 1848. Because of the exhaustive work of Milo M. Quaife, only the first two chapters of the present work are devoted to the years before 1830. After that date, however, the narrative covers every phase of community life. The book is heavily documented and adequately indexed.

Local history, when well done, gives sharp focus to national events and trends, and is often a valuable aid to clarification and understanding. For this reason *A History of Chicago*, if it lives up to the promise of its first volume, will be a significant contribution to the history of the United States as well as a definitive study of the nation's second city.

Rediscovering Illinois, by Fay-Cooper Cole and Thorne Deuel,³ is the record of three years of archaeological ex-

²Knopf, \$5.

³University of Chicago Press, \$2.

ploration in and around Fulton County, Illinois. The book contains a non-technical account of the modes of life of the pre-historic Indians of Illinois, an intensive and scientific study of the Fulton County area, and many excellent illustrations. Fay-Cooper Cole is chairman, and Thorne Deuel Research Assistant, in the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Douglas C. McMurtrie's *Indiana Imprints, 1804-1849*, is a supplement to Mary Alden Walker's *Beginnings of Printing in the State of Indiana* (Crawfordsville, 1934). McMurtrie's work lists 340 titles, many of which, particularly the Baptist publications, relate in part at least to Illinois. It is a publication of the Indiana Historical Society.

*A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection*⁴ is the title of a recent publication of the Newberry Library. Dr. Ruth Lapham Butler, Custodian of the Collection, is the compiler.

For convenience, the Edward E. Ayer Collection has been divided into five classes of material. By far the largest is that relating to North American, under which 1,023 items are listed. Two hundred and fifty-seven items fall under Spanish America; the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands account for 183; Indian Languages comprises 243; and Philippine and Hawaiian Languages number 63. These figures, however, are misleading, for while many of the items stand for single documents, many others represent collections numbering hundreds, sometimes thousands, of manuscript pages.

⁴The Newberry Library, Chicago, 1937, \$5.

Dr. Butler's volume is exactly what its title indicates—a check list, and not a catalog or a calender. However, in most cases the description of each item indicates its character clearly enough for the student familiar with the field. The usefulness of the work is enhanced by an index. Research workers will find it a very valuable tool. The Newberry Library is to be congratulated upon its publication—and especially upon the format, which makes it a distinguished contribution to bookmaking as well as bibliography.

Reminiscences of Uncle Joe Page is the newly published record of the life of one of Illinois' first citizens. A resident of Jerseyville for seventy-five years, Joseph M. Page has been a leader in almost every enterprise of value to his city and locality. He has served his home city as its chief of police and mayor, and the positions of responsibility he has held under the State of Illinois are numerous and important. The Pere Marquette State Park, the Marquette Monument near Grafton, and the Joe Page Bridge at Hardin, fittingly named for him, are in large part his own creations. His *Reminiscences*, written at the hale and hearty age of ninety-two, are the permanent record of a public-spirited career.

Representative Edward G. Hayne of Ottawa announces the finding of a seventeenth-century cannon, believed to have been mounted originally at Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock. The cannon, which still holds an original ball, was found in the Illinois River below the Rock by dredgers, who sold it to a junk dealer. Representative Hayne purchased it and mounted it on a concrete pedestal. He has offered it to the Department of Public Works and Buildings, which has cus-

tody of Starved Rock State Park. The cannon has a gun barrel nearly three inches in diameter and weighs eight hundred pounds.

Announcement has been made that the Historical Records Survey of the Work Progress Administration will soon undertake an inventory of early American imprints. All books, pamphlets and broadsides printed anywhere in the United States prior to 1820 are to be recorded. For states west of the Atlantic seaboard later terminal dates have been established. Thus all printing in Ohio before 1840, and in Indiana and Illinois before 1850, is to be included. Douglas C. McMurtrie of Chicago, well known authority on the history of printing in America, has been appointed Historical Advisor, and will plan a program for each state in which the inventory is undertaken and supervise its execution.

Since November, 1935, a Works Progress Administration newspaper indexing project has been in progress under the auspices of the East St. Louis Public Library. To date many thousands of cards referring to local subjects have been filed. When completed, the index will enable any investigator to find available newspaper accounts of local events immediately, and will thus result in the saving of an enormous amount of time, and in the prevention of wear and tear on valuable files. Newspaper files constitute the most valuable source of local history, but without an index their content is unavailable except to the occasional student who has both patience and leisure. If other cities will follow the lead of East St. Louis, historians will soon possess a tool of almost incalculable value. Papers being indexed at East St. Louis begin in 1865 and extend, with some gaps, to the present.

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A tablet in memory of six missionary priests who participated in solemn high mass in the chapel of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception on Peoria Lake, November 21, 1698, was placed in St. Mary Cathedral at Peoria and dedicated on Easter by Bishop Joseph H. Schlarman. Priests were Gabriel Marest, Jesuit, stationed at Peoria; Francois Pinet and Julien Bitteneau, Jesuit priests of the Guardian Angel mission, on the approximate site of Chicago; M. Francois de Montigny, superior of Quebec Seminary priests, sent to establish the first mission among the Tamarois Indians, now Holy Family Parish, Cahokia; and M. Antoine Davion and Jean Francois Buisson de Saint-Cosme, Quebec Seminary priests. The service is called the first solemn high mass chanted within the boundaries of Illinois.

CONTRIBUTORS

James Monaghan, whose career has embraced such diverse occupations as sheep-ranching and school-teaching, is superintendent of the WPA project described in the first article in this issue. . . . Esther E. Eby is a teacher in the public schools of Grand Rapids, Michigan. . . . Rose Josephine Boylan was in charge of the East St. Louis newspaper indexing project described in the "Historical News" section until last fall, when she resigned to become a member of the faculty of the College of St. Teresa at Winona, Minnesota. . . . Maj. Walter S. Wood resigned from the U. S. Military Academy to enter active service during the World War, and after the war remained in the Regular Army. From 1931 until 1936 he was detailed to duty with the 130th Infantry, Illinois National Guard. The paper presented in this number was written at that time. Major Wood is now on duty in the Canal Zone.

COURTS AND LAWYERS IN NORTHERN AND WESTERN ILLINOIS

By

P. G. RENNICK

Any story of the judicial districts north and west of the Illinois and Kankakee rivers, and the judges and justices who presided over them, must contain more or less history having little connection with the courts or the many changes in the boundaries of those political subdivisions; and, during the period from 1818 to 1848, it would be difficult to dissociate the history of the courts and the general assembly of Illinois.

In 1673 Louis Jolliet and Father Marquette, after making their journey of exploration from Michillimackinac to Green Bay, through the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the Mississippi, down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas, and back to the mouth of the Illinois, came up that river with the hope of a shorter journey in returning to the mission of St. Francis Xavier on Green Bay. When they reached the upper part of Peoria Lake they discovered an Indian village containing many inhabitants. When La Salle, Tonti, Hennepin, Ribourde, Membré and their boatmen reached Peoria Lake on January 5, 1680, they stopped at the same village. It was on this journey that La Salle, Tonti and their companions began the building of Fort Crèvecoeur, one-half league below the foot of the lake. There were white men in the village on the north-west shore of the lake in 1721 and before; there were white men in that village, or at La Ville de Maillet near the foot of the lake, from that time until 1812, when Adjutant

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General Craig burned La Ville de Maillet and kidnapped the inhabitants. There were white people in these villages, but there were no courts, so all difficulties were settled by the parish priest or by a meeting of the inhabitants presided over by the syndic. Antoine des Champs had been appointed justice of the peace for this region but acted largely as a notary.

When the Kaskaskia Indians left their town near the point now called Starved Rock, they could not be persuaded by the missionaries to stop at the Indian village on Peoria Lake as they had decided to go as far south as the present site of St. Louis. However, they were induced to pitch their tents on the banks of the Mississippi near the point which became Kaskaskia, and finally the first capital of the state of Illinois. More than a century later, in 1818, Illinois was admitted to the Union with less than 50,000 white persons within the limits of the state. At that time there were no white settlers north of the Illinois River.

During the year 1813, General Howard decided to attack the Indian villages in the region of Peoria Lake and sent in advance a company of soldiers to build a fort and a stockade. This fort was built on land which had been included in the village recently destroyed and at a point where the present Liberty Street in Peoria reaches the river. It was called Fort Clark in honor of Lt. William Clark who had been appointed Governor of the Missouri Territory to succeed General Howard. He will be remembered as a brother of George Rogers Clark as well as for his famous expeditions. Six years later, in April, 1819, seven Americans from the settlements south of the Illinois River arrived at Fort Clark and founded the village which became Peoria.

To the historian, the year 1819 does not appear so far distant, and yet some events of the same year seem too

ancient for consideration in connection with modern history. It was in 1819 that the state capital was removed from Kaskaskia to Vandalia; the Supreme Court of Illinois held its first session and the first settlements were made in the territory which became Sangamon and Logan counties. It was in this year that Edward Coles came to Illinois and freed his slaves. Alabama was admitted to the Union in that year, and Col. R. M. Johnson and a company of rangers went in keelboats from St. Louis up the Mississippi to the present site of Galena, to confer with the Indians with reference to lead mining.

Queen Victoria was born in May, 1819, and George III, from whose kingdom the people of the thirteen colonies had separated themselves, was still alive, although unable to conduct the affairs of state. George IV was crowned one year later. The names of Queen Anne, the Georges, William IV, Victoria, whose son Albert became Edward VII, her grandson George V, and her great grandsons, Edward VIII and George VI—all of these seem closely associated with the early years of the great prairie state. Events like these claim our attention when attempting to place ourselves in the years 1818 or 1819; and knowledge of collateral events assists us in judging the acts and doings of the early men of Illinois.

The members of the first general assembly had in mind the laws of England when they passed the act which said:

*Be it enacted by the people of the state of Illinois represented in the general assembly, . . . That the common law of England, all statutes or acts of the British Parliament made in aid of the common law prior to the fourth year of the reign of James the I. excepting the second section of the sixth chapter of XLIII. Elizabeth; the eighth chapter of XIII. Elizabeth, and ninth chapter of XXXVII. Henry VIII. and which are of a general nature and not local to that Kingdom, shall be the rule of decision, and shall be considered as of full force, until repealed by legislative authority.*¹

¹ *Laws of Illinois*, 1819 (Kaskaskia, 1819), p. 3.

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The first term of the Supreme Court of Illinois was not far distant in time from the first term of the Supreme Court of the United States. The delegates to our first constitutional convention were guided by the Constitution of the United States as well as by the constitutions of their sister states. As the former had been framed by our forefathers thirty-one years before, the early judges and justices could have been guided by the decisions of John Jay, John Rutledge, Oliver Ellsworth and their associates of the Supreme Court of the United States. The great John Marshall had been writing decisions for eighteen years before the Illinois Supreme Court was organized. Most of our judges and justices of the early days had sufficient education to understand these decisions and the doctrines they established.

CONSTITUTION OF 1818

Ohio, Indiana and Illinois had all been part of the Northwest Territory and had much in common, although the majority of the men who framed the first constitution of Illinois and held the offices in the early days came from south of the Ohio River. The Illinois Territory had been part of the Northwest Territory, and then part of Indiana Territory, but in 1809 it was made a separate territory. On January 16, 1818, Nathaniel Pope, territorial delegate in Congress, presented a petition to that body, requesting that the Territory of Illinois be admitted to the Union. The petition was referred to the committee of which Mr. Pope was chairman. After a few amendments, including an important one which, in disregard of the Ordinance of 1787, fixed the northern boundary at forty-two degrees and thirty minutes, the enabling act was passed by both houses and signed by President Monroe on April 18, 1818. The usual requirements for a special census to be taken and the calling of a convention to adopt a constitution were carried out.

There was no provision that the people should be given an opportunity to vote on the constitution adopted by the convention. The principal conditions imposed by the enabling act were that the constitution must provide for a republican form of government, and not be in conflict with the Ordinance of 1787 save in the matter of boundaries.

The delegates to the convention were elected in July and met in Kaskaskia, the territorial capital, in August, 1818. Thirty-two members signed the constitution, the greater part of which had been written by Elias Kent Kane, one of several members of ability and distinction. To a great extent it followed the constitutions of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. There were spirited debates on the question of forbidding slavery, but as a compromise it was provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this state." This was far from settling the slavery question. Many paid little heed to this section, insisting that the Ordinance of 1787 was in conflict with the Quebec Act, and that the constitution did not interfere with the retention of the slaves which they owned before the adoption of the constitution, or control their indentured servants. When Edward Coles came from Virginia to Kaskaskia and freed his slaves, the slave question became more prominent. Shadrach Bond was chosen as the first Governor by the slavery party; but at the next election, Governor Coles defeated Chief Justice Phillips, the proslavery candidate. This further increased the animosity of the proslavery citizens, and later Coles was sued and fined for freeing his slaves without giving bond.

The constitution provided that the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and members of the general assembly should be elected by the people. Other state officers were to be appointed by the Governor "by and with the advice and consent of the senate." The constitution made the Gover-

nor and members of the Supreme Court a Council of Revision. This council might object to a bill passed by both houses of the assembly, but the bill could still become a law if passed again by a mere majority of both houses.

The judicial power was vested in a Supreme Court to consist of a chief justice and three associate justices to be chosen by the joint assembly, and commissioned by the Governor, to serve during good behavior, or until the end of the session of the legislature of 1824. The constitution also provided for such inferior courts as the general assembly might establish.

The constitution was signed August 26, 1818, and the first election of state officers was held in October. This complied sufficiently with the enabling act to permit the United States Congress in joint assembly, on December 3, 1818, to declare Illinois to be one "of the United States of America, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects." The first general assembly had met in October, 1818, to comply with the preliminary requirements for statehood; and after a session of nine days, adjourned until January 1, 1819, to await the action of the United States Congress. Although the state had been admitted on December 3, 1818, the assembly again adjourned until March 1, 1819. This session lasted for eighty-seven days. The first assembly under the Constitution of 1818 consisted of a Senate of thirteen members and a House of Representatives of twenty-seven members. The fourth general assembly which created five circuit judgeships, and the fifth assembly which abolished them, consisted of a Senate of only eighteen members and a House of Representatives of thirty-six members.

Students of history will have occasion to refer to the Constitution of 1818 when they read of the proceedings

against Edward Coles and the imposing of a fine upon him for freeing his slaves; the removal of a Secretary of State by Governor Carlin; the decision of Judge Dan Stone that "a white male inhabitant who had been six months in the state" could not vote unless he was also a citizen of the United States; and other interpretations of our first constitution.

The history of the courts, especially the "inferior" courts, is intimately connected with the history of the general assembly of Illinois and the partisanship of that time. This partisanship from 1818 until 1830 and later consisted of conflicts between persons or leaders and their followers. The strife engendered by the slavery question was something more than the fight between leaders, and yet it depended largely upon the attitude of the leading slavery men and the leading antislavery men. From 1819 to 1848 we find the judgeships controlled by partisans, and we have a grave suspicion that judicial decisions were sometimes influenced by the partisanship of a judge or justice.

THE FIRST ILLINOIS COURTS

At the first meeting of the legislature in October, 1818, in joint session, officers, including a chief justice and three associate justices to constitute the Supreme Court as provided by the constitution, were elected. Joseph Phillips was chosen chief justice and Thomas C. Browne, John Reynolds and W. P. Foster, associate justices. The general assembly had adjourned until January 1, 1819 to await the action of the United States Congress, and then adjourned to March 1, 1819. On March 31, 1819, an act was passed which enabled the Supreme Court to perform its duties as provided in the constitution. It also provided in section nineteen of this act that St. Clair, Madison, Bond and Washington counties should compose the first circuit; Craw-

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ford, Edwards and White counties, the second circuit; Monroe, Randolph, Jackson and Union counties, the third circuit; and Gallatin, Franklin, Pope and Johnson counties, the fourth circuit. The next section provided that John Reynolds should preside in the first circuit; William P. Foster in the second circuit; Joseph Phillips, chief justice, in the third circuit; and Thomas C. Browne in the fourth circuit.

The only counties interested in these acts were the counties south of the Illinois River. All territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee was attached to Madison County for county purposes. However, in 1821, when Pike County was erected it was made part of the first circuit; and in 1823, when Fulton County was erected it was made part of the first circuit. Pike was the first erected and first organized county north of the Illinois River and had attached to it all the remaining territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee; and in 1823 when Fulton County was erected, all the unorganized territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee was attached to Fulton for county purposes.

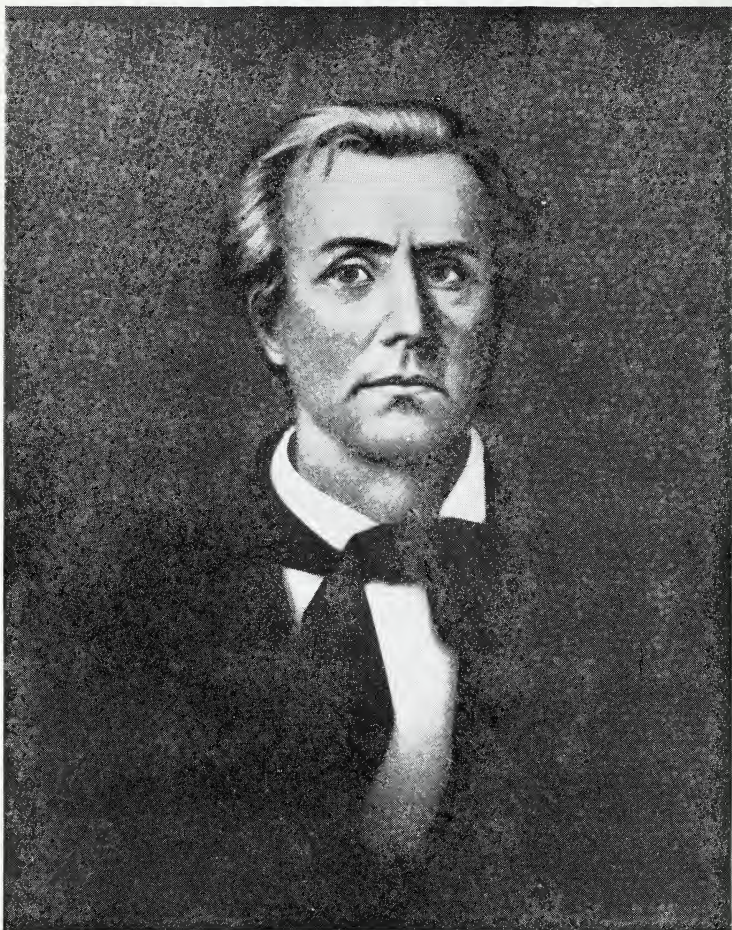
The first term of circuit court held in Pike County was convened on October 11, 1821, at Cole's Grove in what is now Calhoun County. It was presided over by Justice John Reynolds of the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Joseph Phillips on April 23, 1822, and Justice John Reynolds on October 7, 1822, convened court at Cole's Grove. On May 1, 1823, Chief Justice Thomas Reynolds and on October 16, 1823, Justice John Reynolds convened court at Atlas, which had become the seat of justice for Pike County.

On June 22, 1819, Associate Justice Foster resigned. Governor Ford says: He "was almost a total stranger. . . . He was no lawyer, never having either studied or practised law. . . . He was assigned to hold courts in the circuit on



John Reynolds

JOHN REYNOLDS
Associate Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, 1818-1825



WILLIAM^W WILSON
Member of the Illinois Supreme Court, 1819-1848

the Wabash; but being fearful of exposing his utter incompetency, he never went near any of them. . . . He afterwards became a noted swindler.”²

On August 7, 1819, William Wilson, “a young man twenty-five years old of spotless character, good education and fair attainments was chosen to fill the vacancy.”

On July 4, 1822, Chief Justice Phillips resigned to become a candidate for Governor on the proslavery ticket. He had been a captain in the United States army and had been assigned to duty in the Illinois Territory. He succeeded Nathaniel Pope as territorial secretary. Several writers have mentioned his ability and high standing among judges and lawyers of his time. When he was defeated by Edward Coles, he left the state and returned to Tennessee. On August 31, 1822, Thomas Reynolds was chosen to succeed him and served as chief justice until the reorganization of the judiciary by the act of December 29, 1824. By this selection, Thomas Reynolds and John Reynolds became members of the same judicial body. Two authorities state that they were uncle and nephew.

Neither John Reynolds nor Thomas Reynolds was re-elected after the reorganization of the judiciary under the act of December 29, 1824. However, John Reynolds was elected Governor of Illinois in 1830, but resigned a few weeks before the end of his term because of his election to Congress; and Thomas moved to Missouri and became Governor of that state and has living descendants in Missouri at this time.

Under this act of December 29, 1824, William Wilson was chosen chief justice and Thomas C. Browne, Samuel D. Lockwood and Theophilus Smith were chosen associate justices. Wilson had served five years as associate justice

² Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), p. 29.

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and was now twenty-nine years of age. He has been described as a man "devoid of all the acts of a politician, with a mind of rare and analytical power" and his learning and fairness were said to have commanded the respect of judges, lawyers and all persons with whom he came in contact.

There was a great contrast between the members of the Supreme Court as organized under this second act. Samuel D. Lockwood had an excellent reputation among the judges and members of the bar. It seems to be universal comment that Justice Browne was a good storyteller and a kindly man who seldom expressed an opinion until his associates had decided the matter under consideration. Smith was the minority member and because of the bitter conflicts in which he was engaged, it would be difficult to find a proper estimate of this member of the court. As the court was thus constituted, it consisted of the same persons from 1825 to 1841.

In 1823, Fulton County, as before mentioned, had been erected by the general assembly, and all the unorganized territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee, including the territory which became Peoria County, was attached to Fulton for county purposes.

Abner Eads lived in the village of Peoria and concluded to become a candidate for sheriff, notwithstanding the fact that he did not live in the territory out of which Fulton County had been erected. A candidate from the vicinity of Lewistown, the seat of justice, had been announced for this office; but Eads concluded to take a party of his friends down the Illinois River and up the Spoon and slyly approach the polls near Lewistown, just before the time for closing. The other candidate made no particular effort to bring in voters as he was unaware of opposition. When

the votes were counted, Eads had a majority of one vote. This method of gaining the election was angrily resented by the friends of the defeated candidate, and the election was contested. It was contended that the village of Peoria was not located in Fulton County and that Eads was not a resident of Fulton County and, therefore, was not entitled to the office. It was also alleged that he could neither read nor write. However, when the case came to trial, Eads was able to write, at least his own name, and he could also read the printed matter presented to him. The court held that Eads was legally elected and had a right to hold the office of sheriff of Fulton County. Norman Hyde, probate judge, and Orin Hamlin, sheriff of Peoria County in 1828, were voting in the Chicago precinct while they held these offices. Therefore, the Eads case must have settled the legal residence of a person living in attached territory.

ACT OF DECEMBER 29, 1824

This act provided not only "that there shall be a supreme court in this state, which shall consist of one chief justice, and three associate justices, who shall be appointed and hold their offices in conformity to the provisions of the constitution of this state;" but also "that in addition to the justices of said supreme court, there shall be appointed by the present general assembly five circuit judges, who shall respectively continue in office during good behavior, and who shall be required to reside in their respective circuits." The act also required that two terms of court should be held in each of the organized counties. Section eighteen provided: "That the counties of Pike, Fulton, Sangamon, Morgan, Greene, and Montgomery, shall compose the first circuit."³ As it was on January 13, 1825, that the acts creating the counties of Peoria, Schuyler,

³ *Laws of Illinois*, 1825 (Vandalia, 1825), pp. 36-37, 41.

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Calhoun, Adams and Putnam were passed, the bills organizing the courts just mentioned must have been considered at the same time. The general assembly "appointed" John York Sawyer, Samuel McRoberts, Richard M. Young, James Hall and James O. Wattles as judges for these circuits. John York Sawyer was assigned to the territory north of the river, known as the first circuit. James Turney was elected Attorney General, and attorneys were elected by the general assembly for each of the four additional circuits. There was a great outcry against the appointment of five additional judges. The people of the time called it wasteful and extravagant.

To the courts of Pike County during the years 1821 and 1822, and part of 1823, came the inhabitants of the territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee for adjudication of any differences that might arise between them. In these courts every person who was presented by the grand jury for any crime committed in this territory was tried. After the organization of Fulton County in 1823, that county acquired jurisdiction over all such cases and all suits at law or in chancery, in the attached territory. In the two years following, Fulton County had one term of court which was convened at Lewistown in April, 1824, and was presided over by Justice John Reynolds of the Supreme Court.

THE PEORIA CIRCUIT

In the act creating Peoria County there was a provision: "That all that tract of country north of town twenty, and west of the third principal meridian, formerly part of Sangamon county, be, and is hereby attached to said county of Peoria, for county purposes: *Provided, however,* The citizens of the attached part of said county are not to be taxed for the erection of public buildings, or for the purchase of the

quarter section hereinafter mentioned." The act further provided: "That all that tract of country north of said Peoria county, and of the Illinois and Kankakee rivers, be, and the same is hereby attached to said county, for all county purposes."⁴

Beginning with the act of December 29, 1824, the circuit court of Peoria County became quite important. While Peoria had but a small population, it was then the seat of justice for all the territory to the north, including the settlements in Putnam County and Cook County, and for the fast growing population in the territory which later became Jo Daviess County.

In April, 1825, the county commissioners of Peoria County ordered that grand and petit jurors be summoned for the term of court to be held on the second Monday of June; but this first term of circuit court was not convened until November 14, 1825. John York Sawyer was the presiding judge and the first judge to preside in Peoria County or any of the territory east of Fulton County, north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee. James W. Turney, the Attorney General, appeared as attorney for the circuit. Cavarly, Pugh and Bogardus were the only lawyers of the Peoria bar at that time. At the convening of court, five indictments were presented—one against Nomaque for the murder of Pierre Landre, a Frenchman, two for affray, and two for assault and battery. In the Nomaque case, the jury was impaneled and testimony introduced. On the fourth day, the jury found Nomaque guilty of murder. W. S. Hamilton, son of the Secretary of the Treasury under President Washington, was attorney for the Indian. He made a motion for a new trial but it was overruled by Judge Sawyer. He then made a motion in arrest of judgment but was again overruled. The Indian was sentenced

⁴ *Ibid*, 86, 87.

to be hanged on the third Saturday in January, 1826. Hamilton prayed an appeal to the Supreme Court and secured a hearing in December, 1825. The Supreme Court reversed the decision of the circuit court but ordered that Nomaque be held "for thirty days . . . to enable the local authorities to take measures to bring him again to trial."⁵ Accordingly, he was held as a prisoner, under guard part of the time and in the jail at Edwardsville part of the time. The sheriff found that it cost almost as much "for food, clothing and physic" for the Indian as it did to pay the fees of the county officers. Therefore, in the interest of economy he allowed the Indian to "go on his own recognizance," warning him to return again in October of 1826. He did return and was again indicted and again placed on trial for the same offense. When the case was called, Hamilton made a motion to quash the indictment because the records showed that the defendant had been twice placed in jeopardy for the same offense. Judge Sawyer overruled the motion. The attorney for the defendant then raised the question of jurisdiction of the court, to which the People, through Attorney General Turney, acting as attorney for the circuit, demurred. The court sustained the demurrer. To the ruling of the court, Hamilton accepted and prayed an appeal. After this second indictment, there was no effort on the part of the sheriff to keep the Indian in confinement; as a matter of fact, there was no convenient place to confine him. It is not quite certain what became of the Indian, who by this time had become somewhat notorious; but one of the Peoria Rangers in Stillman's army stated to several persons that Nomaque was killed in the much ridiculed battle of Stillman's Run.

Judge McCulloch in his history of Peoria County, Governor Thomas Ford in his *History of Illinois*, Justice John

⁵ *Nomaque, an Indian v The People*, 1 Ill. 150.

Dean Caton in his *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, and others, relate the fate of a defendant who had been indicted for larceny and convicted in the court presided over by John York Sawyer. The punishment for such an offense was a public whipping "on the bare back with stripes well laid on not exceeding forty." In this case the attorney was discussing a motion for a new trial and asked for the privilege of going to his cabin for a copy of some decisions he wished to cite. After the attorney had left the log cabin courtroom, the judge ordered the sheriff to take the prisoner out and punish him according to law, by being tied to a tree and publicly whipped. One authority says that the judge counted the stripes. When the defendant's counsel returned and continued his argument for a new trial and it seemed that the judge was about to grant his motion, the defendant said to his attorney: "I have had enough trials. If they grant me a new trial maybe I will be whipped again." Some authorities say that A. W. Cavarly was attorney in this case. He was a member of the Peoria bar while Judge Sawyer presided in the Peoria circuit court and had several cases at the October term of 1826. At this term, Cavarly was attorney in the case of *Cooper v Edward and Sally Weed*, and John York Sawyer was on the bench. Therefore, it might be fair to conclude that this story, which has been repeated over and over, related to an incident in the circuit court of Peoria County, John York Sawyer presiding. At this term of court all but two of the grand jurors were chosen from the east side of the river. There were eight indictments, some for assault and battery; and it might be concluded, as stated by Judge McCulloch, that the civil suits had something to do with the indictments for assault and battery. A. W. Cavarly was attorney for the persons who were sued by Abner Cooper and it is probable that John Griffin had some part in the trouble as the docket shows that both Griffin

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and Cooper were indicted for assault and battery. William S. Hamilton was fined for contempt of court at this session and writs of *scire facias* were issued against Lewis Beson, Pierre Chevillire, Francois Borbon, Frances Borbon and Antoine Borbon.

CONTROL OF CIRCUIT JUDGESHIPS BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The condemnation of the general assembly for the enactment of December 29, 1824, providing for the election of five circuit judges by that body, continued. Although the salary of a justice of the Supreme Court had been reduced to \$800 a year and that of a circuit judge was only \$600 a year, the men of that day denounced this extra expense as extravagance and a waste of public money. In the following campaign, nearly all candidates for election to the general assembly denounced the act of 1824 and pledged themselves if elected to "repeal the Circuit Judges out of office." Although nearly all the justices and judges opposed the repeal, the repeal bill was passed. Thus the first circuit judges of Illinois served but two years.

Article four of the Constitution of 1818 provided: "The Judicial power of this state shall be vested in one supreme court, and such inferior courts as the general assembly shall from time to time, ordain and establish." It also provided: "The justices of the supreme court and the judges of the inferior courts shall be appointed by joint ballot of both branches of the general assembly, and commissioned by the governor, and shall hold their offices during good behaviour until the end of the first session of the general assembly which shall be begun and held after the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twentyfour, at which time their commissions shall expire." In any event, as ex-

pressed by Norman L. Freeman, Supreme Court reporter from 1862 to 1894, in his history of the supreme and circuit courts of the state:

There can be but little doubt that it is correct to say, that originally, the Circuit Courts formed no part of the judicial system of the State as created by the Constitution of 1818. It is true, that there are some evidences in that instrument of the recognition of the existence of Circuit Courts; it is declared that the Justices of the Supreme Court should '*hold Circuit Courts*' in the several counties, in such manner and at such times, and should have and exercise such jurisdiction as the General Assembly should by law prescribe; but that after a certain period (1824) the said Justices '*should not hold Circuit Courts*' unless required by law; and that the *Circuit Courts*, or the Justices thereof, should appoint their own clerks.

But it can hardly be said that a recognition of such courts in this manner would give them an existence without legislative enactment, when by the same instrument it was declared that the judicial power of the State should be vested in one Supreme Court, *and in such inferior courts as the General Assembly should, from time to time, ordain and establish*. The General Assembly undoubtedly understood that all other courts in the State, except the Supreme Court, depended upon legislative enactment for their existence. The language in several acts, embracing the period from 1827 to 1841, clearly indicates that the Legislature believed that the Circuit Courts were so far the *creatures* of that body that they had the power at any time to repeal them, and thereby to legislate out of office the Circuit Judges, whose tenure of office was during good behavior, and this was done, once in 1827, and again in 1841.⁶

ACT OF FEBRUARY 17, 1827

On February 17, 1827, the general assembly abolished the office of circuit judge and repealed the section requiring two terms of court to be held in each county. Section two of the act required: "That hereafter the chief justice of the supreme court, and the associate justices thereof, shall hold the circuit courts of this state, in the manner hereinafter provided, and shall be governed by the same rules, regulations and restrictions, that are now applicable to the present circuit courts of this state."

⁶ As quoted in D. W. Lusk, *Eighty Years of Illinois* (Springfield, 1889), Appendix, 105.

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Section three provided: "The counties of Peoria, Fulton, Schuyler, Adams, Pike, Calhoun, Greene, Morgan and Sangamon shall compose the first judicial circuit."⁷ Peoria, Schuyler, Adams and Calhoun counties had been organized on January 13, 1825, as heretofore discussed. In January, 1819, an act had been passed for the election by the general assembly of attorneys for the circuit, and a supplemental act was approved January 18, 1825. The act of February 17, 1827 provided for the election of attorneys for the circuits in the same manner and it was also provided that circuit clerks should be appointed by the circuit judges.

After the abolition of the circuit courts, Justice Samuel D. Lockwood was assigned to the first circuit, which included Peoria County. He held his first term of court in that county in May, 1827. The most important case during that session was the indictment of Samuel Fulton, the sheriff, whose duty it was to keep the prisoner, Nomaque, in some safe and convenient place. The sheriff was indicted for "malconduct in office" for allowing the prisoner to roam at large. However, Hamilton found that no *capias* had been issued and, upon motion, the indictment was quashed. The records show that at the May term of 1828 the indictment against Nomaque was stricken from the docket.

Samuel D. Lockwood was born in New York in August, 1789, and was admitted to the bar of that state. In 1818 he came to Illinois, and in 1821 became Attorney General. In 1822 he became Secretary of State under Governor Coles, but resigned this position in three months when President Madison made him Receiver of Public Moneys at Edwardsville. In 1825 he became justice of the Supreme Court and remained in that office until 1848. In 1851 he was made state trustee of the Illinois Central Railroad. He

⁷ *Revised Code of Laws*, 1827 (Vandalia, 1827), p. 119.

held other positions of trust. He died at the age of eighty-five.

THE FIRST CIRCUIT JUDGES

Judge Sawyer's services ended when the act of 1825 was repealed. Judge Caton says in his history that Sawyer was a terror to wrongdoers and that he was an able lawyer, and adds further that "he was not a tall, nor a very stout man, but carried in front about the largest bay-window for his size I ever saw."⁸ After his retirement from the bench, he established the *Western Ploughboy*, an agricultural paper, which he published for two years. He published the first *Illinois Farmers Almanac*, and afterwards owned the *Illinois Advocate*, published at Edwardsville. In 1832 he was elected state printer and moved to Vandalia where he died in 1856.

After the passage of the act of January 17, 1827, the commissions of James Hall, Samuel McRoberts, James O. Wattles and R. M. Young also expired. However, two years later, Young was commissioned as a circuit judge to preside over all the counties north of the Illinois River.

James Hall was born in Philadelphia, August 19, 1793, served in the War of 1812, studied law, and began practice at Shawneetown in 1820. In 1821 he was appointed attorney for his circuit, and in 1825 was appointed as one of the five judges provided for in the act of December 29, 1824. As the act of February 17, 1827 repealed the law providing for circuit judges, he resumed practice in Vandalia, and was associated with Robert Blackwell in publishing *The Illinois Intelligencer*. In the same year he was elected state treasurer by the general assembly, and held this office for four years. He managed *The Western Monthly Magazine*, the first periodical published in Illinois. He was author

⁸ J. D. Caton, *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1893), p. 53.

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of *Tales of the Border*, *Notes on the Western States*, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, in the West*, *The Romance of Western History* and *History of the Indian Tribes*. He died in Cincinnati on July 5, 1868.

Samuel McRoberts was born in Monroe County, Illinois, February 20, 1799, and was graduated from Transylvania University in 1819. In 1821 he was selected as the first circuit clerk of his native county, and in 1825 he was chosen by the general assembly as one of the five circuit judges provided for by the act of December 29, 1824. In 1828 he was elected state senator. Later, President Jackson appointed him United States district attorney. He was then appointed Receiver of Public Moneys at Danville by President Van Buren. Later, he was appointed Solicitor of the General Land Office in Washington, which office he resigned in 1841, and was elected United States senator to succeed John M. Robinson. He died in Cincinnati, Ohio, on March 22, 1843.

James O. Wattles held a term of court in the Edwards County circuit in February, 1825, a special term in May of the same year, and the regular terms in May and November, 1826. Together with the other judges commissioned under the act of December 29, 1824, he was legislated out of office by the act of January 17, 1827. His name cannot be found thereafter in connection with the courts as judge or attorney. Certain information tends to show that he was one of the signers of an application for the incorporation of Franklin College to be established at Edwardsville, Illinois. It was expected the building would be completed by 1826, but the college was never opened for college purposes. The name of Wattles, however, is connected with those of prominent men in the early history of Edwards County.

P. G. RENNICK

JO DAVIESS COUNTY

In the act of February 27, 1827, creating Jo Daviess County, it was provided: "In case the judge of the circuit court of said county, cannot attend at any regular term of said court, it shall be his duty to notify the clerk of said court of the same, who shall immediately on receiving such information, notify all the justices of the peace of said county, and it shall be the duty of the justices of the peace, or any three of them, . . . on receiving such notice, to attend and hold said circuit court"⁹ It was provided that these justices should have jurisdiction in all cases except capital cases. Because of the isolation of the county, such provisions seemed to be necessary. It was also provided that Jo Daviess County should be included in the first circuit.

The first record we have, outside of the provision made in the act erecting Jo Daviess County, is the order of Justice Samuel D. Lockwood under date of February 20, 1827:

State of Illinois, ss.

I, Samuel D. Lockwood, presiding Judge of the Circuit Court in the County of Jo Daviess in virtue of the authority in me vested, do hereby appoint Abner Field to be Clerk of said Court.

Given under my hand and seal at Vandalia this 20th February, A.D. 1827.

Saml D. Lockwood (Seal)

Notwithstanding the fact that the clerk had been appointed and that Galena was in the circuit presided over by Samuel D. Lockwood, no circuit court was held during the year 1827. However, on June 2, 1828, "the judge of the first judicial circuit not attending and the Justices of the Peace having been notified as provided by an act of the General Assembly of this State establishing Jo Daviess

⁹ *Revised Code of Laws*, 1827, p. 118.

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county, in pursuance of said notice appeared." The justices were John Connolly, Hugh R. Colter and Abner Field.

After these justices had organized the court according to law, John H. Pugh was appointed prosecuting attorney. One facetious member of the bar advised the justices of the peace that they must, above everything else, maintain the dignity of the court, and that if any attorney spoke before being permitted to speak he should be punished for contempt. The facetious lawyer well knew that a certain member of the local bar would be the first one to address the court and would probably be the first one to meet with the court's disapproval; and so it happened. He desired to make a motion and the presiding justice informed him he could not speak until he was given the privilege to speak. He started to protest when the presiding justice ordered him placed in jail for contempt of court. This ceased to be a joke and the perpetrator endeavored to have the punishment remitted, but Judge Caton tells us that he was unable to have his friend and brother attorney released from the jail until after he had been confined for three days. These justices of the peace held another term of court in 1828. If Justice Lockwood had been able to reach Galena to hold the fall term of 1828, we would have had the unusual record of three justices' without legal training holding one term of court, and the genteel Lockwood holding another term in the same year. Justice Lockwood had not found it possible to reach that distant point after presiding in the other counties of the first circuit; however, Circuit Judge R. M. Young was able to reach Jo Daviess County for the May term of 1829 when court in course was held.



THOMAS C. BROWNE

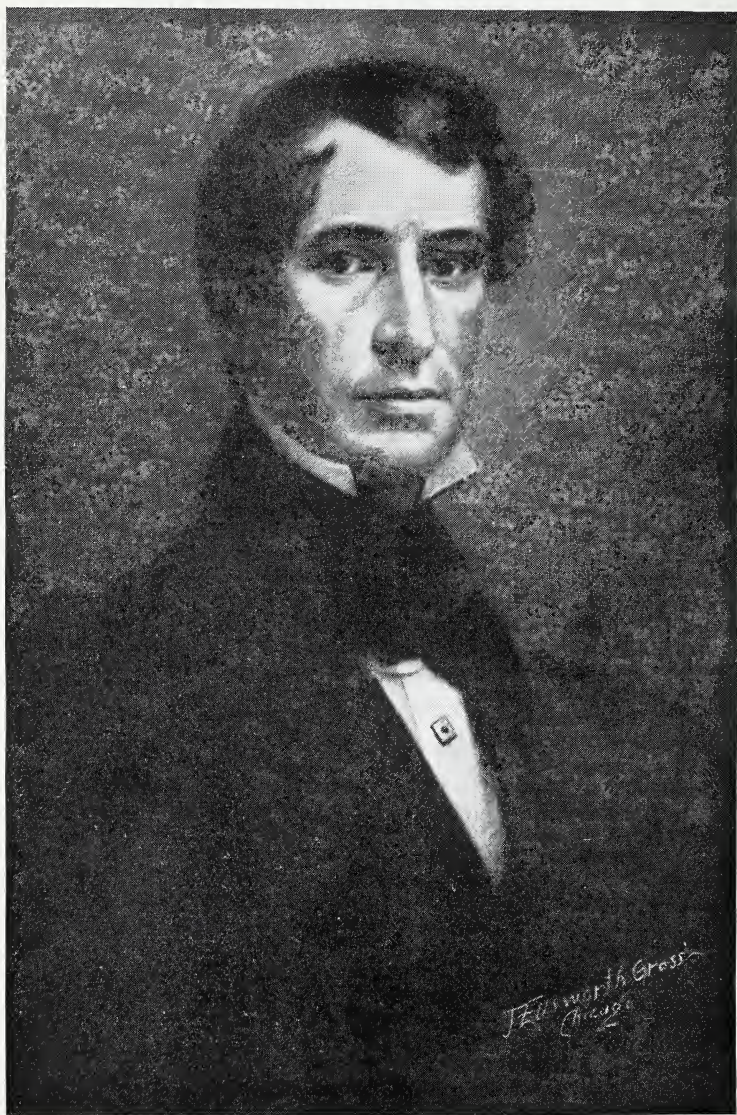


SIDNEY BREESE



SAMUEL D. LOCKWOOD

Judge Browne served on the Supreme Court from 1818 to 1848; Breese from 1841 to 1843, and again from 1857 until his death in 1878; Lockwood from 1825 until 1848



RICHARD M. YOUNG
Circuit Judge, 1825-1827, 1829-1837

NORTH AND WEST OF THE ILLINOIS AND THE KANKAKEE

On January 8, 1829, the general assembly enacted a law providing for a judicial circuit north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee, and Richard M. Young was commissioned circuit judge on January 23, 1829, and assigned to duty in this circuit. By another act, the following counties were included in one district and called the fifth circuit: Peoria, Fulton, Schuyler, Adams, Hancock, McDonough, Knox, Warren, Jo Daviess, Mercer, Rock Island, Henry, Cook, LaSalle and Putnam. Cook, Putnam and LaSalle counties were erected in 1831 and a provision was contained in the acts placing them in the fifth judicial circuit of the state.

From January 23, 1829, the date upon which he was commissioned as a circuit judge, until the fall of 1834, Judge Young rode from county to county over the vast territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee. While he presided over the courts of these counties, it was not an easy matter to ride from Quincy to Peoria, a distance of one hundred forty miles, then on to Chicago, a distance of one hundred sixty miles, and then on to Galena, about the same distance. In the latter part of his term he sometimes stopped at Hennepin and Ottawa; but in only one term was he required to stop at Chicago, namely in October, 1834. On his trips to Galena he traveled by way of Peoria and over the Peoria and Galena road through the pass at Northampton, on by Boyd's Grove and Providence, to the ford at Dixonville, and then by Kellogg's Grove and still on to the city of the lead mines. It is interesting to recall the sparse settlements, the roving Indians, the threatening attitude of the tribes in 1831, and the Black Hawk War which followed. During the first years of Judge Young's incumbency on the bench of the fifth judicial circuit of Illinois, he faced all these perils

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and hardships. It is the only time in the history of Illinois that courts of original jurisdiction in some counties were presided over by justices of the Supreme Court and in others by circuit court judges.

After the increase of circuits in 1835, Judge Young's duties were much lighter. He still retained his residence at Quincy but the courts over which he presided were not so far distant from his home. All the courts in the counties north of the Illinois River from Fulton to the south were included in a circuit designated as the fifth. In 1837, Judge Young resigned his judgeship and was elected to the United States Senate and served until 1843 when he was again commissioned justice of the Supreme Court. In the spring of 1843 he was presiding over the Peoria circuit court where he had presided fourteen years earlier. He resigned this position in 1847 to become commissioner of the general land office in Washington, and in 1851 he was clerk of the national House of Representatives. He died in an insane asylum in Washington, D. C. It was said of him that he was "a man of sufficient ability to fill any office respectably." Caton says that at the meetings of the circuit riders, Young often enlivened an evening by playing on his violin. Charles Ballance of Peoria, author of *The History of Peoria, Illinois*, speaks of him as being a fine Kentucky gentleman and a good horseman, and it is remembered that he always owned a fine horse upon which he rode from point to point over the vast territory included in the fifth judicial circuit.

ACT OF JANUARY 7, 1835

On January 7, 1835, there was another reorganization of the judiciary, and the creation of six circuits, which placed Peoria County and attached territory in the sixth circuit. Under this act, Stephen T. Logan was chosen

judge for the first circuit, Sidney Breese for the second, Henry Eddy for the third, Justin Harlan for the fourth, and Thomas Ford for the sixth. As before stated, Judge Young still presided in the Quincy district which was still designated as the fifth judicial circuit. The sixth circuit included the counties of Peoria, Putnam, Ogle, Winnebago, Mercer, Henry, Rock Island and Jo Daviess, and, after September, 1835, the county of Iroquois, whose county seat was Watseka. The first term of this court was held on the fourth Monday of September, 1835, with Stephen T. Logan presiding by exchange with Judge Thomas Ford of the sixth judicial circuit. The court was held in a log house which was used as a tavern, on the south side of the Illinois River in what was known as Bunkum.

Stephen T. Logan was born in Franklin County, Kentucky, February 24, 1800, nine years before his future law partner, Lincoln, was born. He studied law at Glasgow, and was admitted to the bar before reaching the age of twenty-one. After practicing for ten years in Kentucky, he went to Springfield, Illinois. In 1835 he was elected circuit judge for the first judicial circuit but resigned within two years; after the passage of the act of February 23, 1839, he was again chosen for the same office and again resigned. In 1842 and 1844 he was elected to the general assembly, and in 1847 he served as a member of the constitutional convention. His partnership with Abraham Lincoln began in 1841 and ended in 1844. In 1854 he was again chosen to the lower house of the general assembly. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1860. In 1861 he was selected by Governor Yates to represent Illinois in the peace conference in Washington. He was one of the most eminent lawyers of his time and his name has been closely associated with Lincoln and other great men of the prewar days. He died in Springfield on July 17, 1880. The name Logan is still highly honored.

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Henry Eddy, lawyer and editor, was born in Vermont in 1798, reared in New York, and learned the printer's trade in Pittsburgh. He served in the War of 1812 and was wounded in the Battle of Black Rock near Buffalo. He came to Shawneetown, Illinois, in 1818, where he edited *The Illinois Emigrant*. He was a presidential elector in 1824; a representative in the second and fifteenth general assemblies; and a circuit judge in 1835, but resigned a few weeks later. In politics he was a Whig. He died in 1849. Usher F. Linder, in his *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, says of Eddy: "When he addressed the court, he elicited the most profound attention. He was a sort of walking law library. He never forgot anything that he ever knew, no matter whether it was law, poetry or *belles lettres*. He often would quote whole pages of Milton and Shakspeare, when he felt in a genial mood."¹⁰

Justin Harlan was born in Ohio in 1801. At the age of twenty-five he settled in Clark County, Illinois. He served in the Black Hawk War in 1832, and under the act of January 7, 1835 was appointed judge of the circuit court for the fourth circuit. He was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1847. After the adoption of this constitution, he was reelected circuit judge. In 1862 he was appointed by Abraham Lincoln as Indian Agent and served in this capacity until 1865. In 1872 he was elected county judge of Clark County. He died while visiting in Kentucky in March, 1879.

After holding the fall term of court in 1836, Thomas Ford resigned his position as judge of the sixth circuit and Dan Stone was chosen as his successor. Judge Stone served during both terms of 1837 and 1838. The county of Jo Daviess was still a part of the sixth judicial circuit and a decision rendered in that court by Judge Stone caused much

¹⁰ P. 52.

litigation, much bitterness in partisan affairs, and the writing of many pages in the records of the Supreme Court and hundreds of chapters in the numerous histories of Illinois. A description of the case follows.

In 1838, there were more than 10,000 aliens in the mining regions in and around Galena and among the laborers engaged in the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The 1818 constitution of the state of Illinois and the election laws provided "in all elections, all white male inhabitants above the age of twentyone years, having resided in the state six months next preceding the election, shall enjoy the right of an elector." It was provided in the 1829 election law that if any "judge of the election . . . shall knowingly admit any person to vote, not qualified according to law" he was to "forfeit and pay to the county the sum of one hundred dollars."¹¹ An agreed case was brought against one of the judges who served in the election held on August 6, 1838, because of his permitting an alien to vote, although the alien was a white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years and had resided in the state during the six months next preceding the election. The jury was waived, and Judge Stone decided that the judge of election had violated the law in accepting the vote and the voter had violated the law in voting. There were other questions passed upon, which it was alleged were not before the court. The political faction which championed the alien's privilege to vote, appealed from the decision of Judge Stone to the December, 1839 term of the Supreme Court.¹² By this time the suit was a celebrated case and much bitterness entered into the discussion of it. However, by agreement it was continued to the June term of 1840. While the appellants were still exceedingly anxious to have the case

¹¹ *Revised Laws of Illinois*, 1829 (Shawneetown, 1829), p. 65.

¹² *Spragins v Houghton*, 3 Ill. 377.

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continued until after the election of 1840, there seemed to be no grounds for a continuance. The court consisted of three Whigs and one Democrat. The appellants had little hope of having the decision of Judge Stone set aside. However, by some means, Judge Douglas, who was one of the attorneys for the appellant, found that it had been alleged in the record that the offense had been committed on August 6, 1839, instead of August 6, 1838, and asked for the dismissal of the case because no such offense could have been committed on August 6, 1839 as there was no such election on that date. Privilege was given to amend the record but a continuance was granted. In the meantime the election was held.

Daniel Stone was a native of Vermont, and became a member of the Springfield bar in 1833. In 1836 he was elected to the general assembly and was one of the "Long Nine" that joined with Lincoln in supporting certain well-remembered measures. He also joined Lincoln in a protest against a series of proslavery resolutions. In 1837 he was appointed circuit judge to succeed Thomas Ford, and became a resident of the city of Galena. His decision in the "alien voter" case in the circuit court of Jo Daviess County made his name familiar to nearly every citizen of Illinois. His commission expired when the circuits were reorganized under the acts of 1839. In 1841 he left the state of Illinois and became a resident of New Jersey.

ACT OF FEBRUARY 4, 1837

The population in the northeastern part of the state had increased sufficiently to warrant the division of the sixth district. Therefore, by the act of February 4, 1837, Cook, Will, McHenry, Kane, LaSalle and Iroquois counties were organized into one circuit, which, in the language of the act, were to "be called and known as the seventh judicial

circuit." All the new counties were tributary to Cook County and, as the years increased, they became more closely affiliated. John Pearson was commissioned as judge and served until November 20, 1840. He differed in his political opinions with leading members of the Cook County bar, which caused many stormy sessions in the court. Writs of mandamus in several cases were asked from the Supreme Court to compel him to sign bills of exception and to grant motions for change of venue.¹³ A majority of the members of the bar brought impeachment proceedings before the House of Representatives in Springfield, but the members refused to vote a bill of impeachment.

ACT OF FEBRUARY 23, 1839

There was a noticeable increase in the population north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee in 1836, and a still greater increase from 1837 to 1839. This caused the general assembly to pass the act of February 23, 1839, which created the eighth and ninth circuits. Cook County and the adjoining counties still remained in the seventh circuit; Sangamon, Macon, McLean, Tazewell, Menard, Logan, Dane and Livingston counties constituted the eighth circuit. One cannot pass by the mention of the eighth circuit without recalling the days when Abraham Lincoln rode the reorganized eighth circuit with Leonard Swett, Henry C. Whitney, David Davis, Lawrence Weldon and others. The same memory arises when we mention the fact that Stephen T. Logan, onetime partner of Lincoln, was commissioned judge of the eighth circuit on February 25, 1839. However, neither the duties nor the salary suited Logan and in a short time he again resigned. Samuel H. Treat was appointed as his successor and was reelected on January 21, 1840. Thomas Ford was commis-

¹³ *The People ex rel. v John Pearson*, 3 Ill. 189.

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sioned judge of the ninth circuit on February 25, 1839. The counties of Peoria, Putnam, Marshall, Kane, DeKalb, Bureau, Henry, Ogle and LaSalle composed the ninth circuit.

REVIEW

In reviewing the history of the Illinois courts we find four justices constituting the Supreme Court of Illinois from 1818 to 1825 and the same four justices presiding over the four circuits south of the Illinois River. The first circuit contained the counties of Madison, Bond, St. Clair and Washington, with the addition of Pike County in 1821 and Fulton County in 1823. We note that all the counties north of the river became interested in this judicial circuit, as the territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee remained in the first judicial circuit under the act of December 29, 1824, and also under the act of February 17, 1827. We note the creation of five circuits and the appointment of five circuit judges on December 29, 1824. We find the people being aroused against the circuit courts two years later; and at the end of two more years all circuit judges were "repealed out of office," and the four justices of the Supreme Court were again required to hold court in the circuits, as well as to perform the duties of justices of the Supreme Court. To settle the dispute regarding the jurisdiction over Jo Daviess County and because of the influx of thousands of miners, that county was organized and made part of the first circuit. Two years later, we find the justices unable to hold all the circuit courts, and on January 8, 1829, the legislature formed a circuit to include all the territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee, and an act was passed naming the counties constituting the fifth judicial circuit. This was the first circuit formed entirely of counties north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee. A few days after

the formation of this new district, Judge Young was chosen by the legislature and commissioned by the Governor to preside over this territory. We have mentioned his occupancy of the bench and the hardships which must have been his during those early days. On account of the growth of population it became necessary to add other districts, and, therefore, the act of January 7, 1835 was passed, creating five additional circuits and providing for the appointment of five additional circuit judges. Two years later, the population had increased sufficiently in the northern part of the state to cause the legislature to pass the act of February 4, 1837, creating the seventh circuit; and still two years later, the growth of population caused the legislature to pass the act of February 23, 1839, creating the eighth and ninth circuits. The act of 1837 was passed before the famous decision of Judge Stone had been given which fined a judge of election for allowing an alien to vote at the election on August 6, 1838.

This controversy was not the only one which divided the citizens of Illinois. Thomas Carlin was elected Governor of Illinois on August 6, 1838, and when he was inaugurated he removed Alexander P. Field, the Secretary of State, and nominated John A. McClernand to succeed him. However, the general assembly rejected the nomination, and Field was left in charge of his office. After the general assembly adjourned, the Governor again appointed John A. McClernand as Secretary of State ad interim. McClernand made a demand for possession of the office and Field refused. McClernand brought a suit in the nature of a *quo warranto* before Judge Sidney Breese of the second circuit in the circuit court of Fayette County. Breese decided against Field and ordered that he be ousted. Field appealed to the Supreme Court and the decision of Judge Breese was set aside. The court declared "that the Gover-

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nor had not the power, at his will and pleasure, to remove the Secretary of State [Alexander P. Field];" and that "where the Constitution creates an office, and leaves the tenure undefined and unlimited, the officer holds during good behavior, until the legislature by law limits the tenure to a term of years, or authorizes some functionary of the government to remove" him.¹⁴ Carlin belonged to the proslavery party and Field, although he had been a Jackson man, was classed as an antislavery man. He had held office for more than nine years. The decision of the Supreme Court, setting aside the decision of Judge Breese, was condemned as a political decision by members of the opposing party. Nothing since the persecution of Edward Coles because of his emancipation of his slaves and the clamor for a change in the constitution of the state so as to permit slavery, approached in the least degree the bitter controversies arising over the decisions in the Field case and the alien voter case. On the other hand, there were bitter attacks on Judge Smith because of his being accused of disclosing the record, and the possible change of the record, in the alien voter case. By this continuance of the case to the December term of 1840, all the aliens were allowed to vote and the proslavery party was able to muster a majority in both houses of the general assembly.

ACT OF FEBRUARY 10, 1841

The endeavors of Governor Carlin to remove Alexander P. Field, Secretary of State; the refusal of the legislature to confirm John A. McClernand as his successor; the decision of Judge Breese upholding the power of the Governor to remove Field; the reversal of this decision by the Supreme Court; the bitter legal battle over the privilege of a white male inhabitant who had lived six months in the state, to vote; all these questions naturally aroused

¹⁴ *Alexander P. Field v The People ex rel. John A. McClernand*, 3 Ill. 154, 155.

partisanship among the people. However, the bill which became the act of February 10, 1841, reorganizing the judiciary by repealing all the laws providing for circuit judges and providing for the election of five additional Supreme Court justices, aroused some of the people to a greater extent than the other disputes. The council of revision returned the bill rejected but signed by the members of the Supreme Court alone. The bill was then passed over the veto by twenty-three to sixteen in the Senate, and forty-six to forty-three in the House. In commenting upon this act of the legislature, Thomas Ford, Governor and judge and one of the justices elected under this act, states that the act was "confessedly a violent and somewhat revolutionary measure."¹⁵

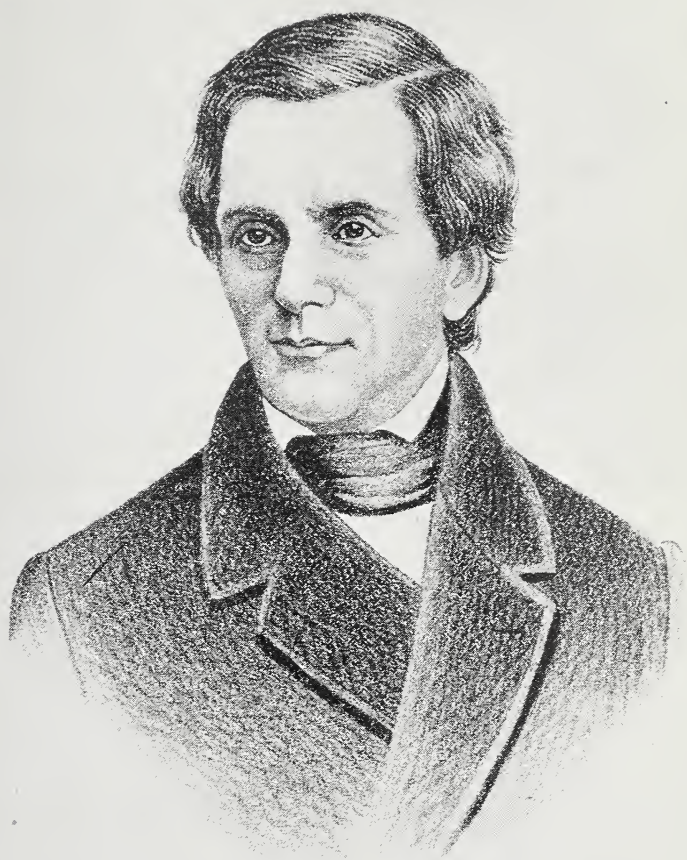
Before the judiciary was reorganized, Chief Justice Wilson, Justice Lockwood, Justice Browne and Justice Smith constituted the Supreme Court. Three of these judges were Whigs and one belonged to the opposing party. However, under the new act, Stephen A. Douglas, Sidney Breese, Walter B. Scates, Thomas Ford and Samuel H. Treat, all members of the opposing party, were elected by the general assembly, and commissioned as associate justices. This gave the party of Douglas and Breese control of the Supreme Court. From 1841 to the adoption of the constitution of 1848, there were no circuit judges. These nine justices of the Supreme Court were required to hold court in all the circuits, in addition to the performance of their duties as justices. Lockwood was assigned to the first circuit, Breese to the second, Scates to the third, Wilson to the fourth, Douglas to the fifth, Browne to the sixth, Smith to the seventh, Treat to the eighth and Justice Ford to the ninth circuit. This ninth circuit included the county of Peoria as well as other counties which had been in the old sixth circuit.

¹⁵ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 217.

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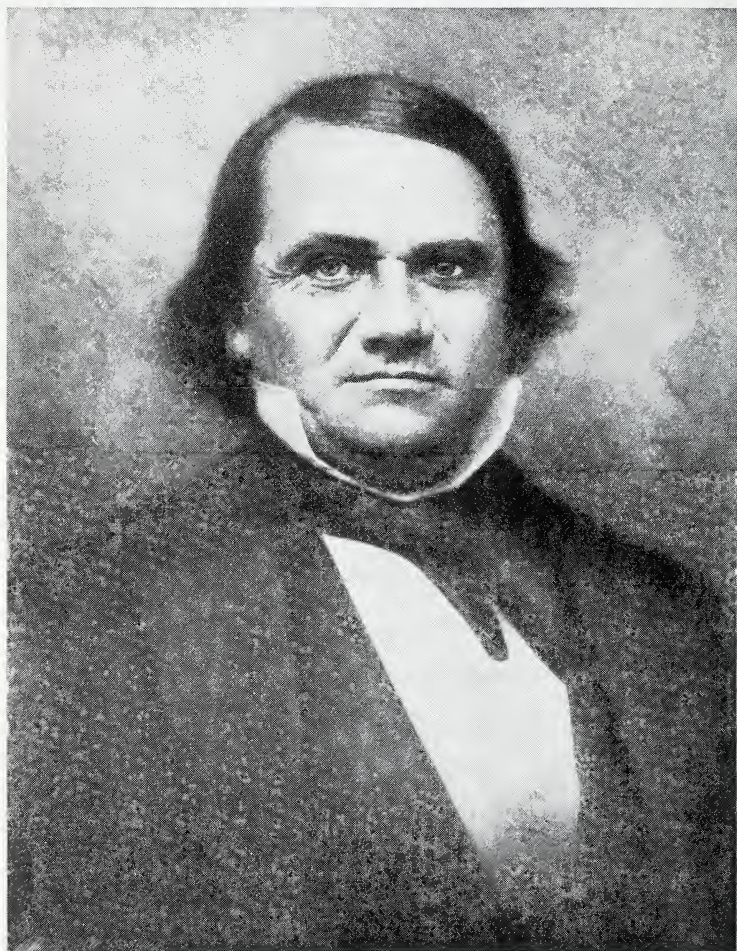
Ford had presided at both the spring and fall terms of the sixth circuit in 1836. Although he had been named as presiding judge before the fall term of 1838, he exchanged with Jesse B. Thomas for that term. When the ninth circuit was formed he became judge of that circuit. After the passage of the act of February 10, 1841, he continued to preside as judge over those courts and was named associate justice of the Supreme Court, presiding in the same circuit at the April and September terms of 1841, and the April term of 1842.

Thomas Ford was born in Pennsylvania in 1800. While still a young child, he was brought to Illinois. After receiving a common-school education, followed by a year at Transylvania University, he began the study of law. When Governor Edwards appointed him attorney for the fifth circuit in 1831, he had then been practicing for over six years. In 1831, he was reappointed by Governor Reynolds; and in 1835, he was elected as one of the five judges provided for by the act of January 7, 1835, and assigned to the sixth circuit which included the counties of Peoria, Putnam, Ogle, Winnebago, Henry, Mercer, Rock Island and Jo Daviess. He resigned in 1837, but under the act of February 23, 1839, creating the eighth and ninth circuits, he was made judge of the ninth. When the courts were reorganized under the act of February 10, 1841, he was named as one of the justices of the Supreme Court. He was again assigned to the ninth circuit, called the Peoria circuit, and continued that assignment until August 1, 1842, when he resigned to accept the nomination for Governor on the Democratic ticket. Colonel Adam Snyder had been nominated by the Democratic convention, but died in July, and the state central committee named Ford as its nominee. He was elected to that office and inaugurated in December, 1842. He presided temporarily over a Chicago



THOMAS FORD

Associate Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, 1841-1842



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
Associate Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, 1841-1843

court between the time of his resignation in the ninth circuit and his inauguration as Governor. He had many difficult problems to handle during his four year term of office. Jeriah Bonham, in his *Fifty Years' Recollections*, published in 1883, tells of Ford, the school teacher of 1829, and relates how he rode the circuit on horseback. Bonham says: "Judge Ford was very plain and unassuming He was an uncompromising Jackson democrat The state was in debt one-third of a million dollars. Auditors' warrants were worth only fifty per cent. . . . The state had borrowed itself out of all credit. . . . The whole people were indebted to the merchants, the merchants to the banks, the banks owed everybody,—none able to pay,—"¹⁶ It was during his administration that the Mormon trouble occurred and Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother were killed by a mob. It was during the latter part of his administration that the Mexican War began. His salary was not sufficient to pay his living expenses.

Ford often stopped at the "fourteen foot square" log cabin of Bonham's father, and the younger Bonham was quite well acquainted with Governor Ford while he was judge and justice presiding over the circuit courts of Peoria and surrounding counties. Into the lives of the older citizens of the Peoria neighborhood, the history of Thomas Ford and John Dean Caton is intimately woven. Ford had many intimate friends in the city of Peoria and the surrounding counties. When his term as Governor ended, he moved to the city of Peoria and was given a house free of rent by Alexander Gray. This house at 105 North Monroe Street was recently torn down. He remained one of the respected citizens of Peoria until his death in 1850. When he died, Alexander Gray and Thomas McDougal

¹⁶ Pp. 61, 62.

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and possibly some other citizens joined in paying his funeral expenses. He was buried in the old city cemetery which is now Lincoln Park and a monument was erected over his grave by the people of the city. Later his remains were removed to the beautiful Springdale Cemetery, but for some time his grave was marked only by a humble slab. However, the Daughters of the American Revolution gave tender care to the grave and finally, in 1895, the state of Illinois erected a monument to mark the last resting place of the man who had capably and honestly filled the offices of judge, justice and Governor.

All citizens of Illinois well remember his persistent efforts to maintain the financial credit of the state. It will also be remembered that when the legislature was about to repudiate the debts of Illinois, Ford opposed the measure with all his power and invited his friend, Stephen A. Douglas, to come to his rescue to prevent what he deemed a cowardly and shameful act. It was upon this occasion that Douglas, coming from a sickbed, had strength to speak only a few moments, but he shouted at the members of the legislature, who had met in joint assembly, that their children and their children's children would curse their names if they blackened the reputation of the state of Illinois with such a dishonorable action as the repudiation of the debts of the state.

Governor Carlin appointed John Dean Caton to succeed Ford, and Caton held the October, 1842 term of court in the ninth circuit. His appointment was ad interim and Judge Young was elected to fill the vacancy. Judge Richard M. Young, who had been the first judge of the old fifth circuit which included all the counties north of the Illinois and west of the Kankakee, continued as judge in the Quincy circuit until 1837 when he was elected to the United States Senate; and when again named as a jus-

tice of the Supreme Court, he held the May term of court in 1843 in Peoria County, and other terms in the same judicial circuit. Justice Robinson had been appointed as judge of the Supreme Court on March 6, 1843. He held court at Lacon and Hennepin, and then convened court at Ottawa. Two days later he became ill and died in that city within a week.

On May 21, 1843, Caton was again appointed by Governor Carlin to be a justice of the Supreme Court to succeed Justice Robinson. Caton was appointed ad interim and was chosen by the general assembly for the same position on February 7, 1845. With the exception of the May, 1846 term of the Peoria County circuit court, when he exchanged with Gustave Koerner, he continued to preside over the circuit court of Peoria County as well as the courts of other counties in the ninth circuit, until the adoption of the Constitution of 1848. John Dean Caton was associate justice of the Supreme Court from 1842 to 1848, and under the Constitution of 1848 he was elected to the newly formed Supreme Court and remained upon that bench until 1864. Because of his activity in more than one field, it would require many pages to tell of the life of Judge Caton. He was justice of the Supreme Court for twenty-one years, and after retirement was successful in the manufacture of telegraph instruments and the formation of a telegraph line which finally became part of the Western Union. He owned Deer Park on the Illinois River, not far from Starved Rock. His early life shows other activities. He was born in New York, and came to Chicago in 1833. As he states in his *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, he arrived in Chicago on June 19, 1833, "with fourteen dollars and some cents"¹⁷ in his pocket. He relates that the next day he found Giles Spring, a young lawyer who had arrived a few days before, but had found no indication of

¹⁷ p. 1.

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any professional business. R. I. Hamilton, clerk of the circuit court and the county commissioners' court and judge of probate, was housed in a log building, a part of which was occupied by his family. Dr. John T. Temple erected a small building on South Water Street west of Franklin, and Caton was able to rent one of the rear rooms for an office. Spring could find no place to rent, so Caton shared his office with him. It was agreed that when one had a client the other would withdraw from the office. This was the first law office opened in Chicago. For a library, Spring had Petersdorf's *Abridgment* and Caton had Chitty's *Pleading*; but Colonel Hamilton came to their rescue and allowed them the use of his office when they had writing to do or wished to consult the *Revised Laws of Illinois* for 1833. This statute book probably was the entire library of Hamilton. Caton says that both Colonel Hamilton and Russell Heacock, who had practiced law in the southern part of the state, were good lawyers. However Heacock, finding no law business in Chicago, built a log carpenter shop at the corner of State and South Water streets and worked at this trade which he had learned before he studied law. He finally was appointed to the office of justice of the peace. Isaac Harmon, who lived in Miller's Tannery on the north side and had an office in one room, and Archibald Clybourn, who lived two miles up the north branch, were, as Caton expresses it, "the rest of the judicial force of Chicago."¹⁸

Caton had not been admitted to the bar, but shortly after his coming to Chicago he visited Pekin and was examined by Stephen T. Logan and licensed to practice. Soon after that he was elected justice of the peace in Chicago. He served as alderman from 1837 to 1838. One of the things that pleased Caton to remember was, that soon after his coming to Chicago, Dr. Brainerd, with whom

¹⁸ Caton, *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, 2.

he had attended school in Rome, New York, rode up to his office door. Dr. Brainerd is remembered as the founder of Rush Medical College. Caton died in 1895, wealthy and highly honored. He was attorney for the Potawatomi Indians during their last assembly in Chicago, and the author of "The Last of the Illinois," published in the *Fergus' Historical Series*.

Gustave Koerner, who exchanged with Carlin for the May term, 1846, was born in Germany in 1809, the year that Illinois was given a territorial government with Ninian Edwards as Governor. After receiving a university education he came to Illinois. He finally, in 1833, settled in Belleville. He soon became prominent in political affairs, and in 1842 was elected to the general assembly. In 1845, he was elected by the legislature as associate justice of the Supreme Court. In May, 1846, he presided over the circuit court of Peoria County, exchanging with Justice Caton who had been assigned to the ninth circuit which included the county of Peoria. In 1852, he was elected Lieutenant Governor on the ticket headed by Joel Matteson; but at the close of his term he became a Republican and an enthusiastic Union man. He served for some time as a colonel on the staff of General Fremont, and later on the staff of General Halleck. In 1862, President Lincoln sent him as minister to Spain, which position he held until 1865. He was a delegate to the convention in Chicago that nominated Lincoln. He was a delegate to other conventions, among them the one in Cincinnati which nominated Horace Greeley for the Presidency. After serving in other public positions, he was again elected to the legislature. He was the author of *Collections of the Important General Laws of Illinois, with Comments, Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten* and a number of other books. He died in Belleville on April 9, 1896.

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Sidney Breese was born in New York in 1800 according to his biographers, but as he was sensitive regarding his age, there are some discrepancies. He arrived in Kaskaskia in 1818, after being graduated from the Union College of New York, and was admitted to the bar in 1820. He was appointed as reporter of the Supreme Court. In 1835 he became a circuit judge, being assigned to the second circuit. In 1841 he was one of the five judges added to the Supreme Court after the passage of the act of February 10 of that year. In 1843 he resigned to accept a seat in the United States Senate as successor to R. M. Young who was the first judge of the circuit north of the Illinois River and west of the Kankakee. In this contest he defeated Stephen A. Douglas. In 1851 he was speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives. In 1855 we find him again upon the circuit bench, and in 1857 he was a justice of the Supreme Court. He died in 1878.

Stephen A. Douglas was born in Vermont on April 23, 1818, and came to Illinois and taught school at Winchester in 1833. He read law at night, practiced before a justice of the peace on Saturdays, and was finally admitted to the bar. In 1835 he was circuit attorney. In 1836 he served in the legislature at the same time Abraham Lincoln was a member of that body. In 1838 he was a candidate for Congress in the Pike-Peoria district but was defeated by John T. Stuart. As attorney in the alien voter case he became widely known, and after the election of 1840, when all circuit judges were legislated out of office and five additional justices of the Supreme Court were provided for, Douglas and four of his partisans were elected by the legislature to the supreme bench. There have been so many biographies of Stephen A. Douglas, and there has been so much written of his debates with Lincoln and

his great activities in Congress and the Senate that it is hardly necessary to add anything to the foregoing notes.

Walter B. Scates was born in Halifax, Virginia, on January 18, 1808, and while an infant was taken to Kentucky. In 1831, having learned the printer's trade at Nashville and studied law at Louisville, he moved to Frankfort in Franklin County, Illinois. Soon afterward he was elected county surveyor. In 1836 he was made Attorney General and moved to Vandalia. However, he resigned the same year to accept a judgeship of the third judicial circuit and took up his residence at Shawneetown. In 1841 he became one of the five new justices and moved to Mt. Vernon. In 1847 he resigned in order to resume his law practice. He was a member of the constitutional convention in 1847, and in 1854 he again became a member of the Supreme Court, succeeding Lyman Trumbull. He resigned in May, 1857, to resume law practice in Chicago. In 1862 he was a volunteer in the Union army and received a commission as major on the staff of General McClernand. In 1866 President Johnson appointed him collector of customs at Chicago, but he was removed by President Grant on July 1, 1869. He died at Evanston on October 26, 1886.

THE TRIAL OF OWEN LOVEJOY

Not even the commentator on decisions of the Supreme Court, in cases which originated in the circuits under discussion, would be privileged to discuss them here. However, such cases as those heretofore mentioned attracted the attention of all citizens. While there were several decisions in cases arising in the ninth circuit and adjoining circuits which were interesting to attorneys of the time, and are still interesting to members of the bar, the indictment and trial of Owen Lovejoy, abolitionist and pastor of the Congregational Church at Princeton,

Illinois, and brother of Elijah P. Lovejoy who was assassinated at Alton, was by far the most famous case of the time. The records of this case have been available for examination for more than ninety years in the old courthouse at Princeton, which was in the ninth circuit. Many authors have discussed the case, among them Judge Caton who presided during the trial; but because of his legal and literary ability the comments by Isaac N. Arnold in his "Reminiscences of the Illinois Bar Forty Years Ago,"¹⁹ published in 1881, on *The People v Owen Lovejoy*, are given here in lieu of any other comments.

At the May term, 1842, of the Bureau County Circuit Court, Richard M. Young presiding, Norman H. Purple, Prosecuting-Attorney, *pro tem.*, the Grand Jury returned a 'true bill' against Owen Lovejoy (then lately a preacher of the Gospel), for that 'a certain negro girl named Agnes, then and there being a fugitive slave, he, the said Lovejoy, knowing her to be such, did harbor, feed, secrete, and clothe,' contrary to the statute, etc.,—and the Grand Jurors did further present 'that the said Lovejoy, a certain fugitive slave called Nance, did harbor, feed, and aid,' contrary to the statute, etc. At the October term, 1842, the Hon. John Dean Caton, a Justice of the Supreme Court, presiding, the case came up for trial, on a plea of *not guilty*. Judge Purple, and B. F. Fridley, States' Attorney, for the people, and James H. Collins, and Lovejoy in person, for the defence. The trial lasted nearly a week, and Lovejoy and Collins fought the case with a vigor and boldness almost without a parallel. The prosecution was urged by the enemies of Lovejoy with an energy and vindictiveness with which Purple and Fridley could have had little sympathy. When the case was called for trial, a strong pro-slavery man, one of those by whom the indictment had been procured, said to the States' Attorney:

'Fridley, we want you to be sure and convict this preacher, and send him to prison.'

'Prison! Lovejoy to Prison!' replied Fridley, 'your persecution will be a damned sight more likely to send him to Congress.'

Fridley was right—Lovejoy was very soon after elected to the State Legislature, and then to Congress, where, as you all know, he was soon heard from by the whole country. The prosecution was ably conducted, and Messrs. Collins and Lovejoy not only availed themselves

¹⁹ In *Fergus' Historical Series*, No. 14 (Chicago, 1881), pp. 132-54.

of every technical ground of defence, but denounced, vehemently, the laws under which the indictment was drawn, as unconstitutional and void; justifying every act charged as criminal. A full report of the trial would have considerable historic interest. The counsel engaged were equal to the important legal and constitutional questions discussed. Judge Purple, for logical ability and wide culture, for a clear, concise style, condensing the strong points of his case into the fewest words, had rarely an equal. Fridley, for quaint humor, for drollery and apt illustration, expressed in familiar, plain, colloquial, sometimes vulgar language, but with a clear, strong common sense, was a very effective prosecutor. Collins was indefatigable, dogmatic, never giving up, and if the Court decided one point against him, he was ready with another, and if that was overruled, still others.

Lovejoy always suggested to me a Roundhead of the days of Cromwell. He was thoroughly in earnest, almost if not quite fanatical in his politics. His courage was unflinching, and he would have died for his principles. He had a blunt, masculine eloquence rarely equalled, and on the slavery question, as a stump-speaker, it would be difficult to name his superior. Collins and Lovejoy, after a week's conflict, won their cause. Lovejoy himself made a masterly argument, and Mr. Collins' closing speech extended through two days. They extorted a verdict from a hostile jury. . . . Lovejoy quoted with great effect the lines of Cowper, now so familiar:

‘*Slaves* cannot breathe in England, if their lungs
Receive our air, that *moment* they are free—
They *touch* our country and their shackles fall!’

‘And,’ said he, ‘if this is the glory of England, is it not equally true of Illinois, her soil consecrated to freedom by the ordinance of 1787, and her own Constitution?’

Mr. Collins, in his summing up, read the great and eloquent opinion of Lord Mansfield in the *Somerset* case, an opinion which Cowper so beautifully paraphrased in his poem.

Judge Caton's charge, which will be found in the *Western Citizen*, of October 26th, 1843, was very fair. He laid down the law distinctly, that ‘if a man voluntarily brings his slave into a free-state, the slave becomes free.’

In February, 1859, at the Capitol in Washington, speaking of the acts which led to this trial, there is one of the boldest and most effective bursts of eloquence from Lovejoy to be found in all the literature of anti-slavery discussion. He had been taunted and reproached on the floor of Congress, and stigmatized as one who, in aiding slaves to escape, had violated the laws and constitution of his country. He had been denounced as a ‘nigger-stealer,’ threatened by the slave-holders,

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and they attempted to intimidate and silence him. They little knew the man, and his reply silenced them, and extorted the admiration of friend and foe. He closed one of the most radical and impassioned anti-slavery speeches ever made in Congress, by unflinchingly declaring: 'I do assist fugitive slaves. Proclaim it, then, upon the house-tops; write it on every leaf that trembles in the forest; make it blaze from the sun at high noon, and shine forth in the milder radiance of every star that bedecks the firmament of God; let it echo through all the arches of heaven, and reverberate and bellow along all the deep gorges of hell, where slave-catchers will be very likely to hear it. Owen Lovejoy lives at Princeton, Illinois, three-quarters of a mile east of the village; and he aids every fugitive that comes to his door and asks it. Thou invisible demon of Slavery, dost thou think to cross my humble threshold, and forbid me to give bread to the hungry and shelter to the houseless? *I bid you defiance in the name of God!*'

I heard Lovejoy declare, that after the death of his brother, he went to the graveyard at Alton, and kneeling upon the sod which covered the remains of that brother, he there, before God, swore eternal war and vengeance upon slavery. He kept his vow.

He was a man of powerful physique, intense feeling and great magnetism as a speaker, and he now went forth like Peter the Hermit, with a heart of fire, and a tongue of lightning, preaching his crusade against Slavery.

In the log school-houses, in the meeting-house, and places of worship, and in the open air, he preached and lectured against slavery with a vehemence and passionate energy which carried the people with him. The martyrdom of his brother was a sufficient excuse for his violence, and the name of Lovejoy, the martyr, like the name of Rob Roy or Douglas in Scotch history, became a name to 'conjure' with; and he scattered broadcast seed, the fruit of which was apparent in the great anti-slavery triumph of 1860. Some idea of his dramatic power may be obtained from a sermon, preached at Princeton in January, 1842, on the death of his brother. After describing his murder by a cruel mob, because he would not surrender the freedom of the press, he declared, solemnly, that for himself, 'come life or death, I will devote the residue of my life to the anti-slavery cause.' 'The slave-holders and their sympathizers,' said he, 'have murdered my brother, and if another victim is needed, I am ready.'

His aged and widowed mother was present in the church. Pausing and turning to her, he said:

'Mother, you have given one son, your elder, to liberty, are you willing to give another?'

And the heroic mother replied:

'Yes, my son,—you can not die in a better cause!'

He lived to see slavery die, amid the flames of war which itself had kindled.

When I heard him speak of his brother's martyrdom, I recalled the words applied by an English poet to the reformer Wyckliffe, illustrating how much Wyckliffe's persecution had aided to spread his principles. Wyckliffe's body, you will remember, was burned and his ashes thrown into the Avon, and the poet-prophet says of the incident:

'The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea,
And Wyckliffe's dust shall spread abroad,
Wide as the waters be.'

The death of Elijah P. Lovejoy, on the banks of the Mississippi, his lonely grave on the bluffs of Alton, were among the influences, and not the least, which have caused that mighty river and all its vast tributaries, on the East and on the West, to flow 'unvexed to the sea.' No longer 'vexed' with slavery, the Mississippi flows on exultingly from the land of ice to the land of the sun, and all the way through soil which the blood of Lovejoy helped to make free. A monument to the Lovejoys on the summit of Pilot Knob, or some other rocky Craig on the banks of that river, should tell and commemorate their story.

CONSTITUTION OF 1848

As stated by Moses in his history of Illinois, the Constitution of 1818 had "come to be regarded with disfavor by the politicians of both parties."²⁰ There was a memorable campaign in 1823 and 1824 to change this constitution, but the call for a convention was defeated. If the convention party had been successful, Illinois might have become a slave state. In 1841 the general assembly passed a resolution for the calling of a convention to amend the constitution and submitted it to the people, but it failed of ratification. However, in 1846, a joint resolution for a constitutional convention was submitted to the voters and ratified by a large majority. The convention met on June 7, 1847, and finished its work on August 31 of that year. Many men who became famous in the state were delegates

²⁰ John Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1892), II: 553.

to this convention. Among them were several who served as justices of the Supreme Court and one, David Davis, who became justice of the United States Supreme Court and afterwards United States senator.

The new constitution, as prepared by the convention, was submitted to the people at a special election in March, 1848, and was ratified by a majority of four to one. Certain articles were submitted separately, and these were also ratified, and the new constitution went into effect on April 1, 1848.

Instead of the provision that all white male inhabitants who had lived in the state six months should be entitled to vote at any election, the new constitution provided that every white male citizen above the age of twenty-one years who had resided in the state one year next preceding the election should have the right to vote. It was also provided under the new constitution that state and local officers should be elected by the voters in contradistinction to the provision in the old constitution which provided for the election by the people of only a few state officers, the rest to be appointed by the Governor, or the general assembly and approved by the Governor. The new constitution provided that justices and judges should be elected by the people instead of chosen by the general assembly. If the word "citizen" had been used instead of "inhabitant," in the Constitution of 1818, much turmoil in the courts and among the people might have been avoided. If the same instrument had provided for the election of a Secretary of State and other state officers, and justices and judges, by the voters, instead of by the general assembly, the famous suit against Alexander P. Field by John A. McClernand would not have been instituted; and the abuse of power by the general assembly to control the election of judges and justices and the abolition of judgeships,



SAMUEL H. TREAT

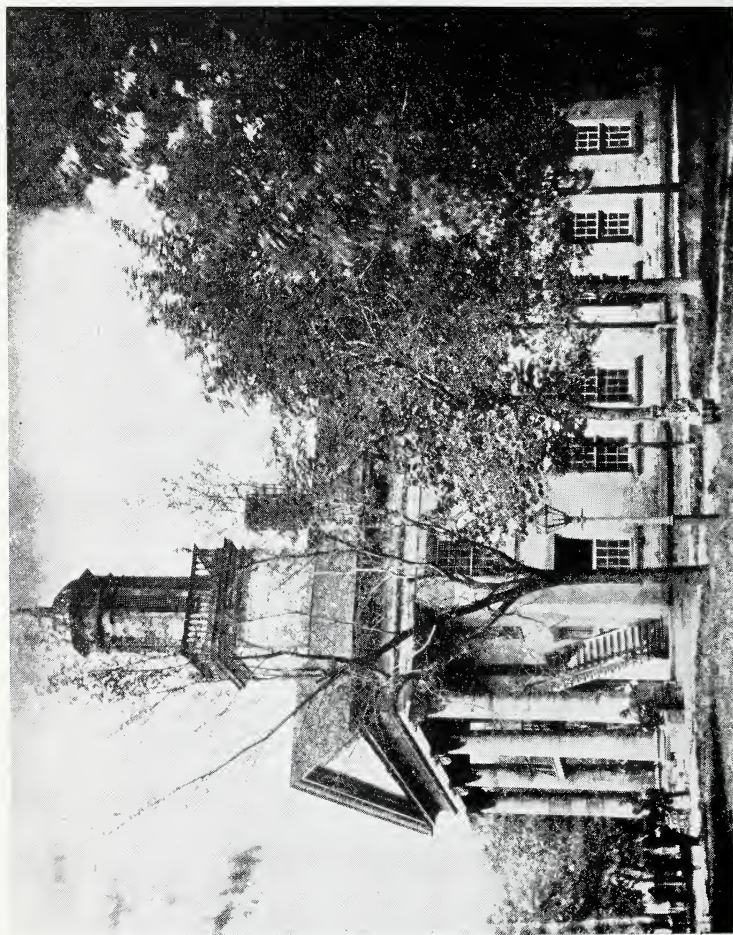


NORMAN L. FREEMAN



JONATHAN YOUNG SCAMMON

Judge Treat served on the Illinois Supreme Court from 1841 to 1855. Freeman was the Court's Reporter of Decisions from 1863 until 1894; Scammon from 1839 until 1845.



PEORIA COUNTY COURT HOUSE, 1835-1876
Lincoln and Douglas spoke from the steps of this building on October 16, 1854

under the acts of 1827 and 1841, would not mar the pages of history. The people at large as well as the leaders had learned much in thirty years and were able to see the defects in the Constitution of 1818. The members of the convention were nearly unanimous in making many improvements in the instrument, including the removal of all influence of the legislature over the appointments of justices and judges. However, the legislature was given power to create new circuits and fix the time within which terms of court should be held in each county of the state, and to increase or lessen the number of circuits; and it exercised these rights to a considerable extent.

The slavery question, which caused such a bitter contest in 1823 and 1824 and afterwards, and the persecution of Governor Coles, was now settled by the provision of the new constitution. However, the negro was not given full citizenship. He could not vote, and was not required nor allowed to do military service, nor to pay poll tax.

In this new constitution the privilege was granted counties to adopt township organization. This was popular in the northern counties but was not so acceptable in the counties in the southern part of the state.

Section one of article five of the constitution which went into effect on April 1, 1848, stated: "The judicial power of this State shall be, and is hereby vested in one supreme court, in circuit courts, in county courts, and in justices of the peace," and it made provisions for local courts.

Section two of the same article provided that the Supreme Court should consist of three judges; and section three provided that for the election of these judges, the state should be divided into three grand divisions; that each judge should be elected for a period of nine years, and that

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the office of one of said judges should be vacated in three years, one in six years, and one in nine years, the terms to be decided by lot.

Section seven of the same article provided that the state should be divided into nine judicial circuits, in each of which one circuit judge who should hold his office for the term of six years was to be elected. It was also provided in this section that the general assembly might increase the number of circuits "to meet the future exigencies of the State." The salary of a justice of the Supreme Court was fixed at \$1200 per annum, and the salary of a judge of the circuit court was fixed at \$1000 per annum. The first election for justices of the Supreme Court was held on the first Monday of September, 1848. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution of 1848 there were no circuit judges. Therefore, in the first election under the new instrument, nine circuit judges were elected. Section fifteen of the same article provided that an election for circuit judges should be held on the first Monday of June, 1855, and each six years thereafter.

It was under this constitution that the county court came into existence. It was also provided in the same instrument that a state's attorney for each judicial circuit should be chosen to perform the same duties as had heretofore been performed under the preceding laws, by like officers.

As all the territory north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee had been included in one circuit for many years, it was necessary to consider the entire territory when speaking of the circuit in which Peoria County was situated. While the state had been divided into circuits to a limited extent, as noted in the preceding pages, still by the act of 1841 all circuit judgeships were abolished, and

nine justices of the Supreme Court held the courts in all the circuits of the state up to the time of the adoption of the Constitution of 1848. From this point, no attempt will be made to discuss circuits other than the one in which Peoria County is included.

Section thirty of article five of the new constitution provided for three grand divisions from which the justices of the Supreme Court were to be elected. The third division consisted of Peoria, Tazewell, Woodford, McLean, Livingston, Iroquois, Will, Grundy, Kendall, LaSalle, Putnam, Marshall, Stark, Bureau, Henry, Mercer, Knox, Henderson, Warren, Rock Island, Whiteside, Lee, Carroll, Jo Daviess, Stephenson, Winnebago, Ogle, DeKalb, Boone, Kane, McHenry, Lake, Cook and DuPage. As Dean Caton had presided in this division, Peoria County joined in his election in 1848. It was provided that a term of the Supreme Court for the third division should be held in Ottawa in LaSalle County. However, section thirty-two of the same article provided that appeals and writs of error might be taken from the circuit court of any county to the Supreme Court held in the division which included such county, or with the consent of all the parties in the cause, to the Supreme Court in the next adjoining division.

Under the act of 1848, the ninth circuit included Peoria^a County. T. Lyle Dickey was elected judge for this circuit^t and presided at both terms in Peoria, as well as in the other counties of the circuit, in 1849. By another act, Peoria, Stark, Fulton, Henry, Rock Island, Mercer, Knox and Warren were included in the tenth circuit. William Kellogg was elected judge for this circuit and served in both spring and fall terms of 1850, 1851 and 1852. However, he resigned in November, 1852, to resume the practice of law. (It will be remembered that he afterwards served three terms in Congress.) In 1852, Judge H. M.

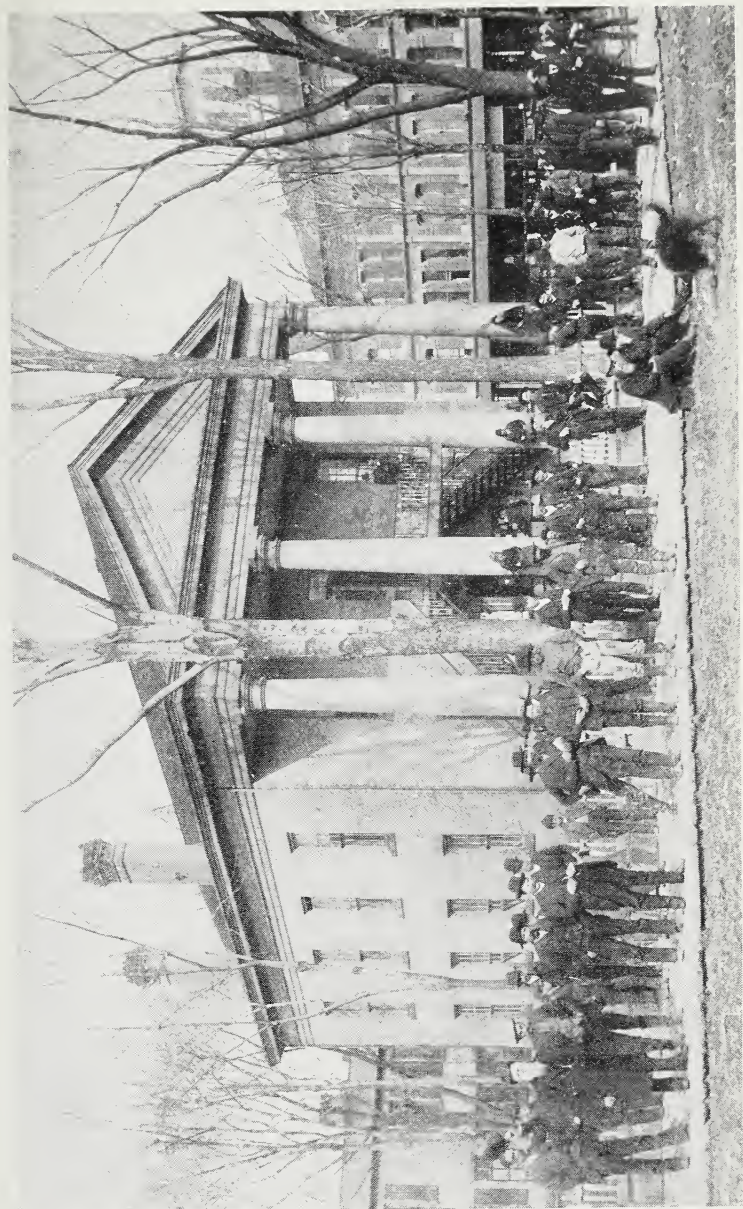
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Wead of Fulton County was elected judge of the tenth circuit, but before the next term of court, the general assembly of 1852-1853 had named Peoria and Stark counties to constitute the sixteenth judicial circuit. As Judge Wead lived in Fulton County he was unable to serve in either of the counties just named. He did, however, serve as judge in the Fulton County circuit. Under the new act, Onslow Peters was elected judge of the sixteenth circuit and served from 1853 until the time of his death. He died in the city of Washington on February 28, 1856.

Jacob Gale was elected to succeed Justice Peters, and presided over the Peoria circuit court during the spring term of 1857. Before the fall term of court, he resigned because of the insufficient salary. Elihu N. Powell was elected to succeed Judge Gale and served from the fall term of 1857 to the spring term of 1861. In 1861, Amos L. Merriman succeeded Judge Powell; and in 1864, Marion Williamson succeeded Judge Merriman. In 1867, Sabin D. Puterbaugh succeeded Judge Williamson, and served until after the adoption of the Constitution of 1870. However, he resigned before the end of his term to resume his law practice. Judge Puterbaugh was probably one of the most notable judges as well as one of the most notable lawyers in central Illinois.

CONSTITUTION OF 1870

The Constitution of 1870 provided for the election of seven justices of the Supreme Court. As the terms of three of the justices, Breese, Walker and Lawrence, in the first, fourth and fifth circuits, did not end until after the adoption of the Constitution of 1870, and as that constitution provided for such justices to continue in office until the end of the term for which they had been elected, there were only four justices of the Supreme Court elected on



FULTON COUNTY COURT HOUSE
1838-1895



DAVID MCCULLOCH



JOHN DEAN CATON



SABIN D. PUTERBAUGH

McCulloch and Puterbaugh were Circuit Judges from 1877 to 1885, and from 1867 to 1873, respectively; Caton served on the Illinois Supreme Court from 1842 to 1864

the first Monday of June, 1870. As Judge Lawrence lived in Galesburg, Knox County, no election in the fifth Supreme Court election district could be held until 1873. On June 2, 1873, Alfred M. Craig of Knox County was chosen from this election district to succeed Justice Lawrence as justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois. Justice Craig was re-elected in 1882 and in 1891, serving for twenty-seven years. He was a candidate for reelection in 1900, but was defeated by John P. Hand of Henry County. Justice Hand was renominated, but became ill during his second term and resigned in 1913. He was succeeded by Charles C. Craig, the son of the former justice. In 1918, Clyde E. Stone of Peoria succeeded Justice Craig. Justice Stone was reelected in 1927 and in 1936, and is now the member from the fifth Supreme Court election district.

By the act of March 28, 1873, the thirty circuits, which had been created from time to time, were reduced to twenty-six. By the act of 1877, the state, outside of Cook County, was divided into thirteen circuits; but it was provided that the presiding judges should serve until the end of their terms. This gave the new eighth circuit, in which Peoria was included, two circuit judges.

Upon the resignation of Judge Puterbaugh, Henry B. Hopkins was appointed to serve the remainder of the term, which was for a period of less than one year. In 1873, Joseph W. Cochrane was elected judge of the sixteenth circuit and served his full term of six years. In the same year that Judge Cochrane was elected in the sixteenth circuit, John Burns of Marshall County was elected in the twelfth circuit, and therefore Judge Cochrane and Judge Burns became judges of the new circuit, which included the county of Peoria.

Under the act of January 2, 1877, providing for thirteen circuits outside of Cook County, the eighth contained the

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counties of Peoria, Putnam, Marshall, Woodford, Stark and Tazewell. However, under another act of the same date, an additional judge was allowed for each circuit and Judge David McCulloch was chosen on the first Monday of August, 1877, to serve as the third judge of the eighth judicial circuit. Immediately after the election of Judge McCulloch, he was assigned to the appellate court.

From this time on, all circuits outside of Cook County have had three judges. In the election on the first Monday of June, 1879, David McCulloch and John Burns were reëlected, together with Ninian M. Laws, as judges of the eighth circuit. In 1885, David McCulloch declined the nomination for circuit judge and became a candidate for justice of the Supreme Court, but was defeated by Alfred M. Craig.

It was because of the work of a committee of the Illinois Bar Association consisting of Judge Puterbaugh, Judge McCulloch and others, that the number of circuits was reduced from twenty-six to thirteen, outside of Cook County, and provision was made for three judges for each of these thirteen circuits. Judge McCulloch was a man of splendid education. The history of the Peoria bar is contained in his history of Peoria County.

At the 1885 election, Thomas M. Shaw of Lacon, Marshall County, Nathaniel S. Green of Pekin, Tazewell County, and Samuel S. Page of Peoria, were elected as judges of the eighth circuit. Judge Page resigned on April 5, 1890, to accept a partnership in one of the leading law firms in Chicago. Page was a man of unusual personality; and without doubt could have been reëlected and reëlected to the judgeship, but he preferred to resume the practice of law. Upon the resignation of Judge Page, Lawrence W. James was elected to fill the vacancy.

In 1891, Judges Green and Shaw were reëlected, and Nicholas E. Worthington was chosen as the third judge of the tenth judicial circuit.

Under the act of 1897, Peoria, Putnam, Marshall, Stark and Tazewell counties comprised the tenth judicial circuit, and these counties are still included in this same circuit.

In 1897, Thomas M. Shaw and Nicholas E. Worthington were reëlected, and Judge Leslie D. Puterbaugh, son of former Judge Sabin D. Puterbaugh, was elected as the third member. However, Judge Shaw died on September 3, 1901, and T. N. Green, son of former Judge Nathaniel S. Green, was elected to take his place. In 1903 and 1909, Worthington, Puterbaugh and Green were reëlected. On October 3, 1913, Judge Puterbaugh resigned and John M. Niehaus was elected as his successor. In 1915, John M. Niehaus, T. N. Green and Clyde E. Stone were elected judges of the tenth circuit. However, Judge Stone resigned and was elected justice of the Supreme Court in 1918; and Charles V. Miles was chosen to succeed him. Judge Miles died on May 28, 1926, and Joseph E. Daily was elected as his successor. In 1927, John M. Niehaus, Joseph E. Daily and T. N. Green were elected judges of this circuit. T. N. Green died on February 9, 1930, and Henry J. Ingram was elected to fill the vacancy. In 1933, Joseph E. Daily, John M. Niehaus and Henry J. Ingram were reëlected. Judge Niehaus died on May 17, 1934. This vacancy was filled by John T. Culbertson, Jr. of Delavan, Tazewell County, in a special election. Judges Daily, Ingram and Culbertson now preside over the tenth judicial circuit of the state of Illinois.

The act of June 21, 1933 left Peoria, Marshall, Putnam, Stark and Tazewell in the tenth circuit.

When we carefully review the work and character of each of the justices and judges who has presided over the

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circuit court of Peoria County and the other counties included in the various circuits in which Peoria County has been included up to the present time, we will find that these justices and judges were honorable and capable men. No blemish can be found upon the character of any of these men. Local histories, histories of the courts, county histories and those of the state of Illinois, as well as biographies, have been carefully examined to determine the ability and character of the men who served on the Supreme Court bench during the years when these justices were assigned to the circuits. The same sources have been examined to find the character and ability of the men who served in the various circuits of which Peoria County was a part. The citizens of Illinois can be proud of the courts of this state and the judges and justices who have administered the law, from the admission of the state into the Union until the present time. Our task has been to search out the facts concerning these courts and the judges and justices who presided in the circuits classified by the old session laws as "north and west of the Illinois and the Kankakee." We have endeavored to withstand the temptation to depart from the narrative in the article requested. In reviewing the nominations and elections of judges of the courts mentioned, it is remarkable to find the small influence that politics has had in the choice of these judges. As a rule, presiding judges have been reelected by the voters, and vacancies have occurred only in cases of resignation or death.

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PIERRE LA SALLIER: LEE COUNTY'S FIRST WHITE SETTLER

By

FRANK E. STEVENS

Just when La Sallier, the first white settler in what was to be Lee County, came to the Rock River country, may never be known definitely, but in a letter written July 29, 1937, by Annie A. Nunns, Assistant Superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, a great deal of altogether new and reliable information of the very earliest character, about La Sallier, has been secured for this story.

La Sallier's first wife was Thérèse Marcot. We are first introduced to her as a child of ten, baptized at Michillimackinac in 1786, according to the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. Her parentage is disclosed, also the names of her godparents, and in a note the name of her second husband is given:¹

August 1, 1786, I, the undersigned Priest, baptized Therese, about ten years old, daughter of Sieur Jean Baptiste Marcot and of Thimotée, of the Outaouis [Ottawa] nation, his lawful wife. The Godfather was Mr. Jean Baptiste Chevalier; and the Godmother Md. Carignan, who signed with us.

Payet, Missn. priest.

pillet Carignan; J. Bapte Chevalier.

The following is the editor's note of explanation:

NOTE: This entry gives another form for the Ottawa wife of Jean Baptiste Marcot, spoken of in preceding and later entries as Marie Nesketh. Her daughter Thérèse, whose baptism is here recorded, became first the wife of Pierre Lasalière, later of George Schindler. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIV, p. 17, note; XVIII, p. 508.—Ed.

¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIX: 86.

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As the next introduction to a La Sallier, we find that the little daughter of Pierre La Sallier and his wife, Thérèse Marcot La Sallier—Marianne (or sometimes Marie Anne) by name—was baptized:²

August 18, 1799, by us the undersigned priest, the ceremonies of Baptism were supplied to Marie Anne, about nine years old, privately baptized by Jean Baptiste La Douceur, born of Pierre La Salière and of Thérèse of the Outawas nation, married before witnesses at St. Joseph, the mother being present. The Godfather was Jacques Giason; and the godmother Angelique Adhemar, who signed with us.

Gabriel Richard, priest.
Angelique Adhemar; J. Giasson.

To this the editor attaches the following note:

Marianne Lasalière, daughter of Thérèse Marcot Lasalière-Schindler, became the wife of Henry Monroe Fisher of Prairie du Chien, and mother of Mrs. Henry S. Baird, an early settler at Green Bay.

By this baptismal notice, it will thus be seen that Pierre La Sallier was duly married to Thérèse Marcot, and by the footnote, that their daughter, Marianne, was married to Henry Monroe Fisher.

And later,³ we find the baptismal record of a child of Marianne La Sallier Fisher and Henry Monroe Fisher; thus, three generations of the La Salliers are clearly presented.

Various other entries are made, showing when and where "Mariane" officiated as godmother at baptismal ceremonies and Thérèse is credited with the adoption in 1820, of Lucy or Lucille Tanner, the half-breed daughter of John Tanner, who as a child was captured by the Indians and brought north and reared by them. Lucy was baptized twice, first privately, then a year later by a priest.⁴

² *Ibid.*, 117-18.

³ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIV:52 and XIX:134.

One more link in this early chain of Pierre La Sallier's life remains to be mentioned: Thérèse Marcot La Sallier (La Sallier's first wife) was married to George Schindler at Michillimackinac, July 12, 1804, as the following entry discloses:⁵

July 12, 1804, we the Undersigned priest, missionary at Michilimackinac—after granting dispensation from three Bans between George Schindler, son of Jean Jonas Schindler and of Genevieve Maranda, of the one part; and Therese Marcot, daughter of Jean Baptiste Marcot and of Marie Nesketh Sarrasin, deceased; The husband not a Catholic but promising to bring up his children in the Roman Catholic religion; The wife being a Catholic and preparing to make her first Communion on the day after tomorrow—received their mutual Marriage consent . . . in virtue of the power Received from Monseigneur the Bishop of the United States, Jean Carol; in the presence of Joseph Laframboise and Louis Chevalier, of the one part; and of Charles Chandonnet and Antoine Guillory of the other part, all of whom signed with us.

J. Dilhet, missionary priest.

Joseph Laframboise; Antoine Guillory; Geo. Schindler; Louis Chevalier, X his mark; Therese Marcot, X her mark; C. Chandonnet.

In copying these entries of weddings, baptisms, etc., I have followed literally the spelling of places and names and used capital and lower-case letters as they appear in the copy.

Correspondence between Robert Dickson, John Lawe and others, found in the tenth and eleventh volumes of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, shows plainly where La Sallier was found during the years 1813-15, while this country was engaged in its second war with England.

On December 9, 1813, Dickson wrote to Lawe, who was at La Baie:⁶ "I will write you tomorrow by Mr. La Sallier. Try to procure two horses to go to Millwackee and return."

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII:508.

⁶ As quoted in Frank E. Stevens, *James Watson Webb's Trip Across Illinois* (Sycamore, Ill., 1924), p. 13.

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La Sallier seems to have been sent as messenger on December 30, 1813, because Dickson said: "I wrote you last night by my men. This will be handed you by Mr. La Salers, who goes to Millwackee. You will please deliver to him two kegs gunpowder, 50 lbs each, two bags ball and one bale of carrot tobacco as I know you will be short of that article. Endeavor to send him off as soon as possible."

January 20, 1814, Dickson declared in a letter: "Mr. La Saliers is an excellent hand at the great guns."

On February 10, 1814, Dickson requested that his men learn where La Sallier was and bring him to Lake Winnebago. "They must inform the Indians that I want Le Sallier to tell him the news to carry back to them."

Thus, letters concerning the whereabouts of La Sallier continued until March 9, 1814. All of this time he was in demand, assisting the British in their war with this country. One letter indicates he was in Peoria on business connected with the English cause, but by that time the Americans and the English had settled their differences and La Sallier's attention was returned to the peaceful pursuits of fur trading; Gurdon Hubbard, who was familiar with the geography of Illinois in 1818, the year he came to Illinois, referred in his autobiography to La Sallier's location just then as on Rock River, the spot where he lived in 1822 when Webb paid him a visit.

At the same time, La Sallier was employed by the American Fur Company for a year that included at least part of the year 1818.⁷ Hubbard and La Sallier were both on the list of employees. La Sallier was listed for one year and then discharged; his salary was fixed at \$1,508 and he was to trade from Mackinac to "Masquignon" [Muskegon].

⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XII:164-65.

Hubbard, who was originally employed at \$120 per year, remained on the company pay roll for a number of years, later buying out all their interests in Illinois.⁸

But the outstanding appearance of La Sallier was noticed by James Watson Webb, who in 1822, after five days of perilous effort, reached the former's cabin while on a trip from Fort Dearborn to Fort Armstrong to secure aid for Fort Snelling, just then threatened with massacre of its garrison by the Sioux. His story is positively thrilling:⁹

My instructions were to employ the Potawatomie, as a guide to the Rock River, where the country of the Winnebagoes commenced, and then take a Winnebago, as a guide to Fort Armstrong—the leading object being so to arrange our line of travel as to avoid the prairies, upon which we would necessarily suffer from the cold. I had been apprised that I would find an old Canadian voyageur,¹⁰ residing with his Indian family, in a trading hut on Rock River, and it was to him my Potawatomie was to guide me.

Toward evening, on the fifth day, we reached our place of destination, and old La Saller, recognizing us as whites and, of course, from the fort, intimated by signs, as he conducted us to the loft of his hut, that we were to preserve a profound silence. All who live in the Indian country learn to obey signs, and it is wonderful how soon we almost forget to ask questions. I knew that something was wrong, but it never entered my head to inquire what it was—Indian-like, quite willing to bide my time, even if the finger, closely pressed upon the lips of the old man, had not apprised me that I should get no answer until it suited his discretion to make a communication.

It was nearly dark, when we were consigned to the loft of the good, old man, and for three long hours we saw him not. During this period there was abundant time for meditation upon our position; when all at once the profound stillness, which reigned in and around the hut, was broken by the startling sound of a Winnebago war dance in our immediate vicinity! This, as you may imagine, was no very agreeable sound for my sergeant and myself, but it was perfectly horrifying to my Potawatomie; all of which tribe, as also their neighbors, were as much in awe of a Winnebago as is a flying fish of a dolphin. But all suspense has its end, and at length the war dance ceased—the music of which,

⁸ *Ibid*, 162-63; Gurdon S. Hubbard, *Autobiography* (Chicago, 1911) x-xi, 7, 160, 166.

⁹ There were three in the party, Webb, a woodsman and a Potawatomi guide; they took two horses. See Stevens, *op. cit.*, 5-6.

¹⁰ La Sallier.

at times, could only be likened to the shrieks of the damned, and then, again, partook of the character of the recitative in an Italian opera, until at length, it died away and all was silence.

Then came old La Saller, whose head, whitened by the snows of eighty winters, as it showed itself through the trap in the floor, was a far more acceptable sight than I could have anticipated it would be when I left the fort. Having been informed who we were, and my desire to procure a Winnebago to guide me to Fort Armstrong, he inquired whether we had not heard the war dance, and if we could conjecture its object! He then proceeded to state that two Winnebagoes, who had been tried, and sentenced to be executed, for the murder of a soldier at Fort Armstrong, had escaped from the jail at Kaskaskia, and arrived on the river a few days previous; that in consequence the whole nation was in a state of extraordinary excitement, and that the war-dance, to which we had listened, was preparatory to the starting of a war party for Fort Armstrong to attack it, or destroy such of the garrison as they could meet with beyond its palisades; and that, of course, our only safety was in making an early start homeward. I inquired whether I could not avoid the Indians by crossing the Great Prairie, and thus striking the Mississippi above the fort. He answered that, by such a route, I would certainly avoid the Indians until I reached the vicinity of the Mississippi; but that we would as certainly perish with the cold, as there was no wood to furnish a fire at night. The mercury in the thermometer, as I well knew, had stood at five degrees below zero when I left the garrison, and it had certainly been growing colder each day; and therefore I apparently acquiesced in his advice, and requested to be called some three hours before daylight, which would give us a fair start of any pursuing party, and bade him good night.

But the old man doubted my intention to return to the fort, and shortly after, paid us another visit, accompanied by a very old Winnebago, who avowed himself the firm friend of the whites, and proceeded to point out the folly of any attempt to proceed in my expedition. He inquired its purport, and when I told him it was to visit a dying friend, he said I had better postpone the meeting until after death, when we would doubtless meet in the Paradise of the white man! but, at the same time, gave me to understand that he did not believe such was the object of my visit to the banks of the Mississippi. Indian-like, he sought to pry further into my affairs, but expressed his respect for all who knew how to keep to themselves their own counsels, and the counsels of their government. His remarks were kind and in the nature of approbation for the past and advice for the future, and coming from such a source, made a lasting impression.

Again we were left to ourselves

Hours before daylight, Webb and his party left the La Sallier cabin and in due time Fort Armstrong was reached, though not without intense suffering. This visit marked the high spot in the history of the cabin marked by this monument.¹¹

The next heard of La Sallier was in 1823, when he guided the Long party from Chicago to Galena and thence on to Prairie du Chien. Prof. James D. Butler, writing for the Wisconsin Historical Society, says of La Sallier:¹²

Regarding the attractiveness of the Four Lake country to Frenchmen long ago, I have met with an unexpected fact which countenances my theory, that Frenchmen made their way to this nook of paradise at a very early date. Since commencing this paper I have fallen in with the name of one Frenchman who was no doubt on the Four Lakes before Armel was born, and possibly made his home here.¹³ This man's name was Le Sellier, the French for Saddler, an old French *engage*, who was enlisted by Maj. Long as a guide in 1823, from Chicago to Prairie du Chien, "because he had lived over thirty years with the Indians, had taken a Winnebago wife, and settled on the head-waters of Rock river." Le Sellier's dwelling is as likely to have been on Mendota as on Koshkonong—and that one hundred years ago.¹⁴ It is more than sixty years since he served as Long's guide, and he had already been in this country more than thirty years.

La Sallier's appearance with the Long party is the last we know of him. His disappearance was complete; after he reached Prairie du Chien, he dropped out of sight forever. Had he remained in Wisconsin, his name surely would have appeared in its *Historical Collections*. The only fair inference we can make is that his activities ceased, or that he went over into the Sioux country of Minnesota. But he was about eighty years of age, and in the nature of things, he

¹¹ For an account of the dedication of a monument to La Sallier, see pp. 395-96.

¹² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, X:72.

¹³ Beyond question his home was on the spot indicated by this monument.

¹⁴ But more likely to have been located on the spot designated by this monument, because in the year 1822, the year prior to the Long expedition, James Watson Webb had a thrilling experience in La Sallier's own cabin here. La Sallier was selected because of his long residence here and his knowledge of this section of the country.

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could not have taken on another adventure of any kind. Indeed, if in 1822 La Sallier was over eighty years old, by the early thirties he probably died in Lee County and was buried in one of the many graves to be found close to the site of the cabin.

JOHN PETER ALTGELD AND THE ELECTION OF 1896

By

HARVEY WISH

The rise of the movement for social democracy in the United States during the final decades of the nineteenth century coincided with similar trends in Europe, but owed its peculiar form to indigenous factors. Behind the political blare of the Civil War and the reconstruction era which accompanied the abdication of the southern planter from the seat of power, new industrial and financial leaders quietly assumed the authority relinquished. The ensuing quest for governmental assistance to specially favored industries occupies a considerable portion of our post-bellum history in the form of the perennial tariff issue. The growing scarcity of cheap arable lands in the west, the insistent efforts of the industrialist to obtain new immigrants, preferably contract-laborers, and the social problems inevitably resulting from urbanization led to the growth of a militant labor movement. Imported philosophies of radicalism lent color rather than content or direction to the struggle of the American workman for some measure of economic security. The battles of Haymarket, Homestead, and Pullman among others marked this development.

For the debtor-farmer, fighting a lost cause against the growing hegemony of industry, the campaign of 1896 took the symbolic form of a free silver crusade. Men who knew next to nothing about economics found their panacea in a complex monetary theory and the cryptic slogan of

"sixteen to one." Labor rallied to this banner, not because of any illusions regarding the effect of inflation upon the wage earner, but largely because the broader social aspects of their cause appeared to be involved. Realists might deprecate the qualifications of the Democratic standard-bearer, William Jennings Bryan, but they recognized him as the "Knight of the Disinherited."

The key to much of the situation in 1896 can be found in the events occurring in Illinois during the preceding decade. A new industrial regime in that state, resting largely on absentee ownership and monopolistic control fed by the legislative largess, had created favorable soil for labor crises like those at the Haymarket in 1886; in Spring Valley in 1890; in the major coal areas of Illinois during 1893-94; and in the "model village" of Pullman during the summer of 1894. The effects of the worldwide depression of 1893 were intensified in Illinois as elsewhere by the temporary destruction of the workman's power to bargain collectively for his labor. When the legislature outlawed such industrial mercenaries as the Pinkertons, native sons were found to act as "deputies" for private establishments. The Governor, John Peter Altgeld, fought valiantly against the tide of corruption which obstructed democratic channels of protest, and finally succeeded in enacting several notable reforms despite the scant support given him by the legislature, then dominated by a bipartisan ring. In 1893, Altgeld had not only freed the three surviving prisoners accused of participation in the bomb-throwing at the Haymarket, but had used the pardon message as a bludgeon upon those in high places who had smothered the eight-hour movement beneath the anarchist bogie; henceforth, he was Altgeld, the Anarchist of Illinois, to the conservative press of the country. A year later, during the early part of the Pullman strike, the Governor

issued a sharp protest to President Cleveland against the sending of federal troops to Chicago, implying that they were used in reality as strike-breakers and that the President had acted as despotically as any autocrat. This defiance of the titular head of his party in the interests of labor was Altgeld's first step in reorganizing the national Democratic party free of the conservative Cleveland influence. His record of social reform in Illinois, his championship of the common man, and his influence in capturing the Democratic rank and file for progressive measures had won him party leadership. Together with other western leaders, he engineered the popular movement of protest, accentuated by the depression, from third party channels to the newly liberalized Democratic party.¹

During the days immediately preceding the Chicago Convention of 1896, Democratic silver leaders prepared to reap the fruits of their earlier strategy that had made the monetary issue paramount, and to demand the control of the national committee which contained a majority of gold men. The Democratic Bimetallic League, representing the silver sentiment of the party, sent a strong sub-committee to obtain the selection of a silver man as temporary chairman of the convention: Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois, Senator Jones of Arkansas, Senator Daniel of Virginia, Governor Stone of Missouri, and Senator Turpie of Indiana.² It was commonly supposed that Altgeld himself would be given the "keynote" position or else the permanent chairmanship. These convention offices, however, did not attract the Illinois statesman, who refused to permit his name being used for either position, desiring instead an active role on the floor of the convention where his leadership would count for most.³

¹For detailed evidence underlying the above generalizations, see the writer's doctoral dissertation, "The Administration of Governor John Peter Altgeld of Illinois, 1893-1897." (Unpublished, Northwestern University, 1936), *passim*.

²*Chicago Tribune*, July 1, 1896.

³*Ibid.*, July 2, 1896.

At noon on July 6, the national committee assembled in the parlor of the Palmer House. Soon the representatives of the League appeared, to deliver their warning to the gold majority. Senator Jones, acting as spokesman, declared that they were authorized by the silver delegates to the Convention, who represented a majority of its members, to request that the position of Temporary Chairman be given to "some gentleman of well-known silver views; whose name would be presented by a member of the national committee in sympathy with the free silver movement."⁴ This defiance of its authority was keenly resented by the committee. In the ensuing vote, David B. Hill, a gold man of New York, was chosen over John W. Daniel of Virginia, the silver candidate, by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-three.⁵ The gold forces having won the first skirmish, the contest was carried to the Convention.

The next day, July 7, when the Convention was formally opened at the Coliseum, the silver members of the national committee presented a minority report demanding the replacement of Hill by Senator Daniel. A motion for a roll call by states was made. Altgeld's policy of "no-compromise" required that the keynote speech, as well as all subsequent proceedings, be entirely in the interests of free silver. Any other course, he thought, would be fatal. Marston of Louisiana expressed the prevailing determination on this matter:⁶

It is not that we love David B. Hill less, but we love Democracy more. We would not cast any aspersion upon our eastern friends . . . We state to the Democracy of the United States that we are on top and mean to assert our rights.

The vote upon the substitution of Daniel for Hill was decisively in favor of the silver leader by 556 to 349. An

⁴ *Official Proceedings of the Democratic Convention* (at Chicago), 1896, p. 68a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

overwhelming coalition of western and southern states defeated the eastern bloc. Nebraska was kept in line by the gold forces who were still in control.

Before the Convention met, Altgeld had made it clear to the Illinois delegation that the state could exercise a strong influence upon the outcome of the battle for silver:⁷

The least concession, in my judgment, means defeat for us We are so situated that Illinois will wield a great influence in the convention. The individual delegates from Illinois will wield a great influence on delegates from the West and South. Ours is a pivotal State.

He desired that the two-thirds rule be abolished as a relic of slavery days and that the Illinois delegation act if the opportunity offered. When the Bland element in the delegation attempted to obtain a vote upon the presidential preference of the group, an Altgeld leader moved that the meeting adjourn. The Governor was opposed to an advance commitment to Bland in the hope that a stronger candidate might develop during the campaign. Hinrichsen, however, polled the delegation while Altgeld was absent, and found thirty-three of the forty-eight for Bland: only one, Dr. Felix Rignier of Monmouth, was for Bryan; the remainder were largely for Adlai Stevenson and Boies.⁸ The Governor agreed to vote with the majority and Illinois was declared as a unit for Bland.

A friendly journalist, Francis F. Browne, telegraphed this account of Altgeld's role in the Convention to the *National Review* of London:⁹

From the very opening of the . . . Convention, . . . its leader and dominating spirit was John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois. He was the brain and will of the Convention, as Bryan was—very literally—its voice. Bryan's nomination was in the nature of an accident; Altgeld's leadership was inevitable from his position and his personal

⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, July 1, 1896.

⁸ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1896.

⁹ Francis F. Browne, "The Presidential Contest—Altgeld of Illinois," *National Review* (London), December, 1896.

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qualities—from his abilities, his courage, and his practical political sagacity. Even before the Convention assembled, he had done more than any other man to forecast its character, to create the situation and shape the issues which were there developed.

This appraisal was later echoed by William H. Hinrichsen, who was close to Altgeld throughout the Convention.¹⁰ Darrow, also an active participant, complained at times that the Governor's methods of exercising pressure upon the delegates were too high-handed. Altgeld regarded his goal as justification of his course in this matter.¹¹

In the battle over the report of the committee on credentials, he took a leading part particularly in challenging the vote of Michigan. The struggle of the silver men against the gold majority, led by Don Dickinson of that state, was closely watched by Altgeld through confidential reports of his friends. Allegations were made to him that the gold majority was the result of fraudulent voting.¹² The controversy was carried to the floor of the Convention when Stevenson of Michigan cast the state's vote in favor of seating the gold men. A great demonstration was made by the gold delegates.¹³

Suddenly Governor Altgeld got upon his chair and faced the convention. His pale face was silhouetted against the royal purple standard of the Illinois delegation and his long, lean arm was extended . . . appealing for recognition . . . Cockrell Martin and Stone gathered around him. He secured recognition by the medium of a messenger . . . "I rise to a point of order. I desire to challenge the vote of Michigan."

There was a terrific uproar, but Altgeld continued:

"We are proceeding here under the rules of the House of Representatives. Under the rules of the House . . . no member can vote upon any matter in which he is personally interested. Consequently, no member of this convention can vote upon a question in which he is personally interested."

¹⁰ *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), March 16, 1902.

¹¹ Interview with Darrow, August 14, 1935.

¹² Letter of L. A. Smith to Altgeld, June 9, 1896, Governor's Executive Files (MS in the Archives Division, Illinois State Library).

¹³ *Illinois State Journal*, July 9, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, July 9, 1896.

A roll call was ordered and the silver men won the Michigan delegation by a vote of 558 to 368.¹⁴ Senator Stephen M. White of California was selected by the committee as Permanent Chairman, and was presented with a solid silver gavel. As the silver forces won successive victories, an appreciative demand for a speech from Altgeld came up repeatedly. The Governor desired that David B. Hill speak first, evidently hoping to attack the arguments of the gold men, but upon the insistence of the delegates, he rose to address the Convention.

His speech was similar to that given in Peoria at the state Convention, with more emphasis on the currency issue. Some of his remarks betrayed the marked anti-English bias that developed after the Venezuela crisis; thus he spoke of English greed, English cunning, and the gold standard as a product of an English conspiracy. These comments were enthusiastically received, but his description of the plight of the unemployed and the farmers made a sensational appeal.¹⁵ As he continued to speak, his face grew flushed and his gestures more rapid. Soon the Convention fell entirely beneath the sway of his oratory. His appeal for free silver as a relief to the hungry men and women of the nation evoked a great demonstration. When he descended from the platform, crowds of delegates from many states surrounded him as he attempted to make his way along the aisles. From the serried lines of spectators in the galleries, enthusiastic shouts arose to fill the Coliseum.¹⁶ The keynote of his speech—no compromise on the currency issue—was the major note of the Chicago Convention.

¹⁴ *Official Proceedings*, p. 135.

¹⁵ Speech of July 8, 1896, in John Peter Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1899), pp. 585-90; *Chicago Tribune*, July 9, 1896; *Illinois State Journal*, July 9, 1896; *Official Proceedings*, 124.

¹⁶ *Illinois State Journal*, July 9, 1896; F. F. Browne, *National Review* (London), December, 1896, pp. 470-73.

Most important of his contributions to the Convention was his role in dictating the platform of the party. Although he could have been on the platform committee if he had desired it, he chose the active leadership on the floor of the Convention and left the actual presentation of his viewpoint before the committee to Worthington of Peoria, a close friend of the Governor's, whom the latter desired as a vice-presidential candidate.¹⁷ Besides, the platform committee, after the withdrawal of its gold members, was organized with Senator Jones, an associate of Altgeld's, as chairman. Altgeld frequently consulted with Jones as to the details of the platform.¹⁸ Darrow later remarked:¹⁹

Without him [Altgeld] the Democratic Party would never have placed in its platform its warning to the country against federal courts or its strictures upon government by injunction.

Hinrichsen stated in 1902 that Altgeld "laid out the program of the convention, dictated the platform and impressed his personality upon the policy adopted."²⁰ After the adjournment of the Convention, according to Hinrichsen's account, he complimented the Governor upon his influence on the deliberations. Altgeld replied that he did everything but nominate himself and that was prevented by an accident of birth and a clause in the Constitution.²¹

¹⁷ "Recollections of Charles S. Thomas, Ex-Governor of Colorado and Senator," Waldo R. Browne Collection (in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield); also letter of George H. Sibley to W. R. Browne, January 16, 1923, *ibid*.

¹⁸ Interview with Clarence Darrow, April 14, 1935.

¹⁹ Clarence Darrow, "Memorial Petition on John P. Altgeld, April 20 (1912?)" (MS in Mr. Darrow's possession).

²⁰ *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), March 16, 1902.

²¹ Carter H. Harrison, a Convention delegate, later wrote, "Altgeld, rather than Bryan or any other, was responsible for the clarion Chicago utterance. . . . [Bryan] was little more than the silver-tongued mouthpiece of the thinker." *Stormy Years, the Autobiography of Carter H. Harrison* (Indianapolis, 1935), p. 70. Another observer, who evidently knew Altgeld exceptionally well, wrote: "On the Coliseum floor and in secret caucuses outside Altgeld was cajoled, threatened, challenged, and browbeaten by leaders of different factions, but in spite of it all he stood firm, and to him more than to any other one man was attributed by leaders of the free silver element the power which finally secured the 16 to 1 platform." *Chicago Chronicle*, March 13, 1902.

Conclusive evidence of the extent of Altgeld's influence upon the Democratic platform of 1896 is afforded by a comparison of the Illinois platform, written the preceding month at Peoria, and the product of the national platform committee. A summary of the latter with the exception of several minor points is almost a reproduction of the Peoria document:²²

1. The free coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one.
2. Tariff for revenue only; denunciation of the McKinley law.
3. Endorsement of the federal income tax. Suggestion of an amendment to the Constitution.
4. Abolition of pauper immigration.
5. An anti-trust plank; enlargement of powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
6. Industrial arbitration in labor disputes between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees.
7. Economy in government.
8. (Most elaborate of all, except free silver.) Denunciation of "arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as . . . a crime against free institutions."
9. Denunciation of "government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression. . . ."
10. Recommendations extending the merit system of the civil service, sympathy for Cuba, improvement of national waterways, and no third term for presidents.

The Republican platform²³ of 1896 which emphasized protection and a vigorous foreign policy is in sharp con-

²² Official copy of platform, *Official Proceedings*, 250. Several of the minor planks are omitted.

²³ *Chicago Tribune*, July 9, 1896.

trast with the novel Democratic program. A comparison of the Democratic platform of 1892, upon which Cleveland had been elected, with the Bryan platform, reveals a change in philosophy which, in its expression, must be attributed largely to the influence of John Peter Altgeld. To some opponents, the Chicago platform of 1896 was an "anarchist manifesto"—the creed of the Illinois bomb thrower in office, Altgeld. The *New York Tribune*, which devoted considerable editorial space to a denunciation of the Governor's anarchism, scored the platform:²⁴

The makers of the platform have indeed carried candor to the point of hardihood, and laid bare in glaring distinctness their whole program of political and financial revolution The new Western and Southern leaders, who have grasped the reins of party power have at least the courage of fanaticism, and all the levelling features of their creed.

Meanwhile Bryan was preparing his trusty metaphors of the "cross of gold" and the "crown of thorns," which had worked successfully upon the emotions of political gatherings on several previous occasions.²⁵ A portion of his famous speech, delivered on July 9, is of interest because of the emphasis on the platform:²⁶

They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make new issues; that the principles upon which rest Democracy are as everlasting as the hills; but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that is not a new idea. They criticise us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States If you want criticism read the dissenting opinions of the court. That will give you criticisms.

The tremendous demonstration of enthusiasm, lasting fifteen minutes, which followed the cross of gold climax, brought Bryan forward as a leading opponent of Bland.

²⁴ *New York Tribune*, July 9, 1896.

²⁵ William J. Bryan and Mary Bryan, *Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia, 1925), p. 103. Bryan tells how he laid the treasured metaphors aside for "a proper occasion."

²⁶ *Official Proceedings*, 229.

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The Illinois delegation, which was restless as thirty-one standards joined the Nebraska delegation, was held in check by Altgeld. The first four ballots showed that Bryan was gaining at the expense of the Missourian:²⁷

	Bryan	Bland	Boies	Pattison
1.	137	235	67	99
2.	197	281	37	100
3.	219	291	36	97
4.	276	241	35	97

At this point, Altgeld signaled for the retirement of the Illinois delegation. Bland had lost fifty votes and Bryan had gained fifty-seven. Altgeld's leadership might turn the tide. The *Chicago Tribune* reporter wrote:²⁸

When Illinois went out for consultation it seemed as if the whole convention knew what was going on, and a terrific shout went up, one that would shake the rafters out of a country barn.

Altgeld was not predisposed in Bryan's favor. According to Darrow's recollection, he sat abstractedly during the famous speech of Bryan and remarked next day to the former, "I have been thinking over Bryan's speech. What did he say, anyhow?"²⁹ At the time of Bryan's death in 1925, a reporter for the *New York Times* told the story which would indicate that Altgeld had prepared the way for Bryan's nomination. Shortly before the cross of gold speech, James A. Campbell of the *Philadelphia Times* was taking a drink with Altgeld's "chief lieutenant" and asked for a "round tip." The latter replied after some hesitation: "Keep your eye on William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska." Thinking that Bryan was to be chairman of some important committee, Campbell telegraphed his paper to get a picture of Congressman Bryan.³⁰ It is possible

²⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, July 10, 11, 1896; *Illinois State Journal*, July 9, 10, 1896.

²⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, July 11, 1896.

²⁹ Clarence Darrow, *The Story of My Life* (New York, 1932), p. 92.

³⁰ Charles W. Thompson, "How Bryan Picked His Issues," *New York Times*, August 2, 1925.

that the position referred to was Permanent Chairman of the Convention which Bryan could have had rather than Senator White who was chosen.³¹ Altgeld, in his correspondence with Bryan, had left the latter no illusions on the subject of Illinois' support for the presidency. All available evidence confirms the fact that Bland of Missouri was the actual as well as the avowed choice of the Governor.³² Bryan himself seems to have been unaware of any direct influence in his behalf exerted by Governor Altgeld. He wrote to Waldo R. Browne in 1922:³³

As you doubtless know, he [Altgeld] was opposed to my nomination, being a supporter of Mr. Bland. He was influential in holding the Illinois delegation to Mr. Bland after my convention speech but was an active supporter of my candidacy after the nomination.

Behind closed doors the delegation deliberated in an excited atmosphere. Bland and Bryan men were active in gaining pledges for their respective candidates. An early roll call was smothered in confusion. Finally, a delegate proposed that since Governor Altgeld had more at stake than any other person in the room, he should be allowed to name the man the delegation would vote for. This offer was emphatically refused by Altgeld, who stated that he would not vote but would abide by the action of the majority. Only when the roll call was almost over and Bryan led with four votes, did Altgeld cast his vote with the majority.³⁴ Under the unit rule, the delegation was pledged for Bryan.

³¹ *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 8, 9, 1896.

³² Harvey Wish, "The Administration of Governor John Peter Altgeld of Illinois," 365 *et passim*.

³³ Letter of William J. Bryan to W. R. Browne, June 9, 1922, Browne Collection (Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield). Bryan also wrote that previous to the Convention, he had received but one letter from Altgeld. This seems to be an error, since the writer has seen at least two letters from Altgeld to Bryan.

³⁴ William Prentiss, *Prominent Democrats of Illinois* (Chicago, 1899), p. 104; a similar account appears in Walter A. Townsend, *Illinois Democracy; a History of the Party and its Representative Members—Past and Present* (Springfield, 1935), I:194; and the *Chicago Tribune*, July 11, 1896.

Returning to the Convention, Hinrichsen announced that Illinois' forty-eight votes were now cast for Bryan. Thereupon, Ohio announced a switch from McLean to Bryan. Ex-Governor Stone of Missouri read a letter from Richard Bland in which he instructed the Convention to withdraw his name whenever any other acceptable free coinage candidate had a majority. Missouri's vote then went to Bryan. A stampede in typical convention manner followed, and the vote for Bryan was made unanimous.³⁵

Carl Snyder, writing in *Leslie's Weekly*, declared:³⁶

Governor Altgeld indeed comes very near to taking the President's place in the regard of the Democratic masses. From perhaps the most unpopular man in the United States, the Governor of Illinois . . . is now very near to the recognized master of the Democratic party.

This judgment is supported by the important position which Altgeld occupied in the campaign. Next to Bryan himself, Altgeld attracted more national attention than any other Democrat. He was singled out as a special object for attack by such prominent men as Benjamin Harrison, Carl Schurz, Albert Beveridge, and Theodore Roosevelt, and by the leading periodicals of the day. Altgeld himself stressed national issues and largely ignored the local campaign in Illinois. The Republicans recognized his ability and chose prominent speakers in many instances to counteract the influence of Altgeld's arguments. Labor, particularly trade-unionist sentiment, strongly endorsed the acts of the Governor.³⁷ H. H. Kohlsaas, the new owner of the *Times-Herald*, complained to Horace White of the *New York Evening Post* that Altgeld was "extremely strong with the labor people."³⁸ Free silver might not appeal

³⁵ *Official Proceedings*, 265.

³⁶ Carl Snyder, "The New Masters of the Democratic Party," *Leslie's Weekly*, July 16, 1896. This journal like many others, characterized the platform as "anarchy."

³⁷ E. g., the thirteenth annual convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor passed a resolution praising Altgeld for his attitude toward labor problems. *Chicago Tribune*, October 12, 1895.

³⁸ H. H. Kohlsaas, *From McKinley to Harding* (New York, 1923), p. 48.

to the wage-earner, but Altgeld's program had embraced far more than a currency idea. The Socialist-Labor party, however, then under the leadership of the fiery, though erudite, Daniel DeLeon, refused to compromise with the free silver issue; but this attitude was restricted to the radical wing of the labor movement.³⁹

The state Populist party met at Springfield on August 12, and endorsed the administration of Governor Altgeld. Their program consisted largely of reform in taxation, abolition of convict labor, and a system of direct legislation within the state.⁴⁰ The national Populist leader, Marion Butler, whose organization supported Bryan, declared that the Populists had not become Democrats, but that the Democrats had become Populists.⁴¹ The Chicago platform of 1896 gave credence to this statement. A section of the Populists—Middle-of-the-Road Populists—met at Chicago to nominate a complete state ticket, except for Governor which was left blank. Henry D. Lloyd was nominated as Lieutenant Governor.⁴²

The strategic importance of Illinois among the middle western states in revolt against the old political leadership was readily appreciated by the Republican leaders as well as by their opponents. While it might be satisfactory for a personality of McKinley's type to make front porch campaigns, realistic politicians like Marcus Alonzo Hanna recognized that the war must be carried into the enemy's country. Chicago, therefore, rather than New York City, became the center of the contest. During the campaign, over 100,000,000 political pamphlets were shipped from the Chicago office of the Republican party, while only one-fifth

³⁹ *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 349.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; *Chicago Daily News Almanac*, 1897, pp. 249-50.

⁴¹ *Chicago Chronicle*, October 31, 1896.

⁴² *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 350.

as many were issued from New York.⁴³ Charles G. Dawes of Chicago took the leading role in the campaign of "education." Hanna and James J. Hill went on their famous collection tour of Wall Street and other financial centers to raise an unprecedented war chest. If the populous state of Illinois could be won, the effect upon the neighboring doubtful states would be beneficial to McKinley's cause. Francis F. Browne, who studied the campaign closely, wrote that the Republicans adopted the tactical policy of emphasizing Altgeldism by a concentrated effort and of bearing "down with him the presidential candidate."⁴⁴ There is considerable evidence for this hypothesis, judging by the type of opponents selected to attack the Illinois Governor.

While Bryan was ridiculed, Altgeld was vilified. The cartoonist, W. A. Rogers, of *Harper's Weekly*, pictured Altgeld with the torch of anarchy in front of the shade of Guiteau, the assassin of Garfield, and underneath was the caption, "Guiteau was a Power in Washington for One Day. Shall Altgeld be a Power There for Four Years?"⁴⁵ A week earlier, the editor had written that, if elected, Bryan would be as clay "under the astute control of the ambitious and unscrupulous Illinois communist, who had become the leader of all the disturbing forces in the country by reason of his defence and pardon of the Chicago anarchists."⁴⁶ Lyman Abbott denounced Altgeld from his pulpit as "the crowned hero and worshipped deity of the anarchists of the Northwest." Henry Cabot Lodge declared him "one who would connive at wholesale murder"

⁴³Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna; His Life and Work* (New York, 1912), p. 214.

⁴⁴F. F. Browne, *National Review* (London), December, 1896, p. 470. He remarks: "So prevalent was this antipathy that it was usually taken for granted that any respectable citizen was against him; for anyone to avow himself a friend of Mr. Altgeld in any Chicago or New York Club, for example, would have been to risk at least a very disagreeable reception."

⁴⁵*Harper's Weekly*, October 24, 1896.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, October 17, 1896.

and "substitute for the government of Washington and Lincoln a red welter of lawlessness and dishonesty as fantastic and vicious as the Paris Commune."⁴⁷ The *New York Daily Tribune* editor thought that the deathly pallor of the Illinois Governor was a lean and hungry look suggesting the conspirator of the Cassius type.⁴⁸ The Reverend Cortland Myers of New York chose as a text a subject relating to "Anarchy in the Chicago Platform." He attacked the plank denouncing federal interference in strikes and riots.⁴⁹

That platform, if it means anything, means the privilege of another Altgeld to promote pillage and turbulence without any interference of a higher authority. It is the plank laid by traitorous hands.

Unfortunately for Altgeld, the *Chicago Times-Herald*, which in the hands of James W. Scott had been a source of kindly encouragement amidst the willful misrepresentations of his enemies, now passed into the hands of the Republicans. H. H. Kohlsaatt, who took a leading part in the campaign against free silver, now became the proprietor of the paper. Thus the Democrats of Chicago were left without a newspaper.⁵⁰

Despite the failing health which marked his tenuous grasp upon life, Altgeld plunged himself into the hardest campaign of his career. His unique oratorical abilities were comparable to Bryan's in effectiveness, although wholly unlike the latter in presentation and delivery. Carter Harrison describes Altgeld on the platform as "a homely clumsy man possessed of a voice of neither strength nor beauty."⁵¹ Nevertheless his clear enunciation, vigorous language, and a sincerity that was convincing gave him a measure of popular appeal that totally eclipsed his more

⁴⁷ F. F. Browne, *op. cit.*, 459.

⁴⁸ *New York Tribune*, October 18, 1896.

⁴⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, September 28, 1896.

⁵⁰ C. R. Tuttle, *Illinois Currency Convention* (Chicago, 1895), pp. 50-51.

⁵¹ C. H. Harrison, *Stormy Years*, 66.

polished rivals. He had the knack of identifying his cause with the deepest aspirations of the masses who were his audience. The heartfelt response which followed his speeches, described even by hostile journals, indicates how well he could capture the imagination of his listeners. More than one observer has remarked that Altgeld could embody a trite remark with a significant connotation.

On August 29, he opened his platform tour with a speech at Girard, Illinois. The issues he dealt with were almost entirely national in character—the currency question, the tariff, and hard times. Only in his concluding statements did he briefly summarize the situation in the state. Believing firmly, with most silverites, that depressions such as those of 1873 and 1893 were directly produced by the demonetization of silver, he drew a dark picture of the “crime of ’73” and its results. It is more than probable that his humanitarian tendencies were a conditioning factor upon his economics. The anomaly of want and natural abundance puzzled him as it did others several decade later. Hence he reasoned, “the causes of our distress are not natural but are artificial. It is governmental policy that is the mother of our sorrow.” The gold standard in his eyes marked the American people as slaves of English bondholders. His speech closed with the plea:⁵²

If there are Republicans here who feel that they must in part support their ticket, then I say to you with all the earnestness of my soul, go into the booth, vote for Mr. Tanner for Governor, and then think of your families; think of the future of your children . . . and cast a vote for Bryan and for humanity.

He was cheered enthusiastically by the crowd. The appeal had not been primarily on the complex plans of economics, but a popular presentation of the antagonistic interests of a “money power” and the common man.

⁵² Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 591-604; *Chicago Tribune*, August 30, 1896.

Altgeld, like Bryan and other leaders of 1896, was fully aware of the historical significance of Jackson's war on the bank in 1832, and occasionally quoted the precedent.

Two days previously, at Carnegie Hall in New York City, Benjamin Harrison had delivered a strong attack upon Altgeld and the Chicago platform. He declared that no issue of the campaign was so important as that raised concerning the powers and duties of the national courts and the chief executive. The atmosphere of the Chicago convention seemed to him "surcharged with the spirit of revolution." Government by the mob was given preference over government by the law, enforced by court decrees and by executive orders. He emphasized this note.⁵³

My friends, whenever our people elect a president who believes that he must ask of Governor Altgeld or any other governor of any state, permission to enforce the laws of the United States, we have surrendered the victory the boys won in 1861.

More formidable than Harrison's attack upon Altgeld was the lengthy gold speech delivered by Carl Schurz at Chicago on September 5. As a respected representative of reform and a German-American, Schurz might be expected to act as the necessary neutralizing agent for Altgeld's appeal among the latter's strong supporters. The former was far from being an admirer of McKinley, but felt that Bryan's free silver ideas were much more dangerous than McKinley's protectionism. Powell Clayton, former senator, brought Schurz to Chicago as a guest of the Honest Money League.⁵⁴ His long speech, which filled almost twelve columns of the newspaper, in small print, attacked all the assumptions of the free silver advocates. The Bryan panacea seemed to him like "jumping out of the frying pan into the fire," although he admitted the seri-

⁵³ Benjamin Harrison, *Views of an Ex-President* (Indianapolis, 1901), p. 188.

⁵⁴ Claude M. Fuess, *Carl Schurz Reformer (1829-1906)*, (New York, 1932), pp. 336-37.

ousness of the depression. The fall in the price of silver, he declared, was due to overproduction, not governmental intervention. The gold standard was desirable because it was relatively stable. Other arguments, frequently reiterated during the campaign, were adduced for gold.⁵⁵ On the whole, his speech was considered one of the best presentations of the gold cause.

Altgeld could not ignore such a challenge and prepared a strong refutation of Schurz's arguments. Two weeks later, at the Central Music Hall, Chicago, he delivered his reply before an audience which filled the galleries to overflowing. It is unnecessary to follow the lengthy arguments that he presented. If his interminable statistics did not establish his own case, they did at least indicate that Schurz's arguments were poorly supported. In one instance, Altgeld demonstrated that Schurz had relied upon a treasury report which had been subsequently declared wrong by the director of the mint. He attacked the cost of production theory of the other as inadequate. His concluding remarks were devoted to a refutation of Cochran, who had delivered a gold speech the week previously.⁵⁶

Edgar Lee Masters, who listened to Altgeld's reply to Schurz and Cochran, declared that the speech was the masterpiece of that campaign. During its delivery, a wit in the gallery interrupted to shout, "Oh, you old anarchist!" To this Altgeld retorted with a smile, "Our friend up yonder has had sixteen and one." This sally was greeted by wild applause.⁵⁷ In late October, Schurz replied to Altgeld and, as the former's biographer, Claude Fuess, has it, "completely demolished Altgeld's soph-

⁵⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, September 6, 1896.

⁵⁶ Answer to Schurz and Cochran, September 19, 1896, Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 612-47; *Chicago Tribune*, September 20, 1896.

⁵⁷ Edgar Lee Masters, "John Peter Altgeld," *American Mercury*, February, 1925, p. 170.

istry."⁵⁸ Modesty would forbid a judgment upon this point.

To carry the fight to the east and to refute the increasing charges that he was an anarchist, Altgeld prepared to go to New York and present the Chicago platform apart from the currency issue. A German Democratic organization invited him to speak on October 17 at Cooper Union. Tammany Hall appeared somewhat disturbed by the invasion of the dangerous Governor of Illinois. John C. Sheehan, a Tammany leader, disavowed responsibility for bringing Altgeld to New York City. The latter had "drastic, vigorous opinions" which Tammany could not endorse without antagonizing various elements.⁵⁹ When Sheehan asked Altgeld about the Democratic possibilities of carrying Illinois, implying that the latter was reckless in coming to New York, Altgeld replied that they would not only carry Illinois but obtain a majority far exceeding the one given to Cleveland in 1892.⁶⁰

On the platform of Cooper Union Hall, Henry George paid a high tribute to Altgeld, declaring that he had come nearly halfway across the continent to hear the famous Governor. Pictures of Altgeld decorated the hall and the band played "Hail to the Chief" in his honor. William Randolph Hearst and the *New York Journal* gave him generous publicity, and crowds of people pressed forward to catch a glimpse of the much discussed statesman of the middle west. William Sulzer introduced Altgeld to the audience as "the most abused man in America, but armored in a righteous cause he bids defiance to the hosts of error." The crowds cheered "as if mad" as he came into view.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Fuess, *op. cit.*, 338.

⁵⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, October 15, 1896.

⁶⁰ *New York Journal*, October 18, 1896.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, October 19, 1896. Some of the material for the Cooper Union speech was obtained by Willis J. Abbot. Letter of Abbot to H. D. Lloyd, October 12, 1896, Lloyd Papers (in the Wisconsin State Historical Library, Madison).

The Cooper Union speech was the most ambitious statement of his position so far made in the campaign. Instead of dwelling upon the currency issue, he spent most of his time upon the question of government by injunction and federal interference. He cited telegrams, official reports, and other documentary proof as to the wisdom of his course during the coal and Pullman strikes of 1894, and the justifiability of his famous protest to President Cleveland against the use of federal troops in Chicago. His review of the Supreme Court was an excellent historical presentation of the attitude of such men as Jefferson and Lincoln to that tribunal. He declared that the people must not surrender the right of self-government to the Supreme Court, nor concede to the President the right to send federal troops into any neighborhood at his pleasure. These Cleveland policies, he said, had been taken over by a group of men who nominated McKinley and used him as a tool. "Mr. McKinley is scarcely a factor in this campaign. Mr. Mark Hanna and the agents of syndicates and trusts constitute the power that is subverting free institutions." He concluded with an appeal for a new Declaration of Independence to free the nation of dependence upon other countries in currency affairs.⁶²

The eastern newspapers professed to see in this speech a manifesto of revolution. The *New York Sun* remarked: "Governor Altgeld . . . is the real leader of the revolution and it would be foolish to underestimate the qualities which make him dangerous."⁶³ The *Brooklyn Eagle* wrote: "He believes that there is a great social revolution in progress and that he is its leader, or at any rate, that fate has made him one of the instruments to relieve many of the ills from which his countrymen are suffering."⁶⁴ Other

⁶² Speech at Cooper Union, October 17, 1896, Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 647-90; *New York Journal*, October 18, 1896.

⁶³ *New York Sun*, October 19, 1896.

⁶⁴ *Brooklyn Eagle*, October 19, 1896.

papers spoke of Altgeld's venomous political methods, his "conspicuous charlatanry" and "his curious effort of rehabilitating his own character."⁶⁵ Mark Hanna was shaken from his customary complacency to complain: "Why doesn't he attack Mr. McKinley? I am not running for office."⁶⁶ Benjamin Harrison stressed the Altgeld phase of the campaign in Indiana. He declared that Bryan was merely a puppet of the Illinois Governor.⁶⁷ Democratic silverite papers expressed satisfaction. Henry George praised Altgeld highly in the *New York Journal* "for the speech in which he set forth . . . the most important of the issues of the campaign."⁶⁸

The Republican managers evidently were alarmed by the deep impression Altgeld had made. Theodore Roosevelt, who was originally scheduled to cover the West Virginia and Maryland territory, was shifted to Chicago and other middle western points. In a letter to Henry Cabot Lodge, Roosevelt predicted: "Altgeld will run way ahead of Bryan in Illinois, but the land-slide will be so great that we shall probably down him too."⁶⁹ To Albert Beveridge was entrusted the chief task of replying to Altgeld's Cooper Union speech.⁷⁰ The thirty-four year old orator, whose star was definitely in the ascendant, championed the doctrine of Hamiltonian centralism as firmly as Altgeld accepted Jeffersonian democracy. On October 29 at Chicago, Beveridge delivered a powerful attack on the principles of the Cooper Union speech.⁷¹

Were the American people, Beveridge asked, a nation or an aggregation of localities? Was it necessary for the

⁶⁵ *New York Press*, *New York Advertiser*, *Chicago Chronicle*, October 19, 1896.

⁶⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, November 1, 1896.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*; speech at Ligonier, Indiana, October 31, 1896.

⁶⁸ *New York Journal*, October 19, 1896.

⁶⁹ Letter of Theodore Roosevelt to H. C. Lodge, October 21, 1896, *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918* (New York, 1925), Vol. I:238.

⁷⁰ Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 60.

⁷¹ *Chicago Chronicle*, October 30, 1896.

national government in enforcing its laws, first to get the permission "of local satraps called governors?" He continued:

The destiny determining issue [is] whether American institutions as Hamilton destined them, as Marshall defined them, as Lincoln consecrated them, shall continue in their clear and single course or whether they shall be changed, corrupted and dissipated into the channels that John C. Calhoun marked out and John P. Altgeld has resurveyed.

He compared Altgeld with Jefferson Davis and demanded:

What excuse have you Governor Altgeld, for calling from Appomattox this ghost of treason? Do you answer as you did in New York that the workingmen, the masses who toil demand it? I deny it. It was the producing millions who made us a nation . . . Law is labor's only friend and when law is dead, labor becomes slavery.

He accused Altgeld of desiring to defile the Supreme Court by choosing judges not on a consideration of learning and impartiality, but for definite promises before appointment to decide cases in a prearranged manner. His speech reverberated with the concepts of Hamilton:

We want government strong enough to obey its own Constitution, strong enough to execute its own laws, strong enough to be supreme within its own dominions. We want a government so strong that it does not have to await the command of some cowardly, or treasonable, or mistaken governor to act.

The speech fired the imagination of his audience. Much of Beveridge's appeal was due to his identification of himself with the new rising trend. A friend congratulated him: "You have made a fine impression upon Senator Quay and other men of power in the eastern part of the country."⁷² Beveridge attributed his entrance to the Senate two years later to the effectiveness of his reply to Altgeld.⁷³ For the Illinois Governor there was no such recognition by the "men of power." His path to the Senate was easily

⁷² Bowers, *op. cit.*, 62.

⁷³ *Ibid.* The biographer remarks, "It stamped him as a militant champion of centralization—as a Hamiltonian without compromise—as a protector of property rights against the mob."

blocked by a time-serving politician of Illinois who had not attempted to articulate the unexpressed desires of the masses. The secret of political success, Altgeld found, lay in reducing oneself to an intellectual and moral zero, and thus increasing one's "availability" to those who held the reins of power. This theme is frequently reiterated in his speeches and writings.

Meanwhile Altgeld was not giving adequate attention to his enemies in Illinois. Occasionally he attacked Tanner, the Republican candidate for Governor, as being responsible for the premature adjournment of the preceding legislative session in time to prevent much-needed tax reform. Tanner did this, he claimed, in behalf of those who were depriving the state of millions in taxation.⁷⁴ Kohlsaatz, although a Republican himself, wrote to a friend: "Tanner . . . is so thoroughly unfit for the position that decent, God-fearing people are almost in open revolt against him."⁷⁵ Some of Tanner's enemies circulated posters portraying him as a murderer with a noose about his neck. This had reference to a sensational murder with which he was popularly connected. This attack was attributed by the Republican papers to Altgeld although the latter firmly denied responsibility.⁷⁶

Strongly undermining the Governor's position, the gold Democrats persisted in "revelations" concerning Altgeld's dishonesty. The National Gold Democrats had met at Indianapolis and nominated John Palmer of Illinois for President. Many of the gold leaders were Illinoisans whose attacks were primarily directed at the Governor for his "apostasy" in delivering the Democratic party into the ranks of the Populists and Silverites. The Indianapolis

⁷⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, October 2, 1896.

⁷⁵ Kohlsaatz, *From McKinley to Harding*, 48.

⁷⁶ *Chicago Chronicle*, October 30, 1896.

platform denounced Altgeld's protest against Cleveland's use of troops in Chicago.⁷⁷ Senator Vilas, gold leader in Wisconsin, investigated gold sentiment throughout the country and found that many opposed the Chicago platform not so much because of the silver plank but because of the "Altgeld planks." The idea of reforming the Supreme Court was considered revolutionary and the product of cranks. One gold man wrote to Vilas: "I most respectfully decline to act with a lot of anarchists who have usurped the name of democrat."⁷⁸ The Chicago resolution concerning federal intervention seemed a "defiance of law and endangering of human lives, just because the Governor of a state happens to be in sympathy with [the rioters]."⁷⁹

Towards the end of August, William S. Forman, the gold Democratic nominee for Governor, released a sensational interview to the newspapers in which he charged that Altgeld had borrowed state funds for the purpose of paying his personal bills, and had removed the treasurers of several state institutions who had refused to let him have the money. Besides, he said, Altgeld made a practice of depositing state funds in pet banks.⁸⁰ These charges were vehemently denied by the Governor as malicious lies deliberately brought up at this time to influence the election. In an open letter to Forman, Altgeld attributed the motives of the other to the fact that Forman had recently been discredited by the party and refused an interview by the Governor.⁸¹

Altgeld's policy of removing the custodians of state funds who refused to account for the interest now demanded

⁷⁷ *Campaign Textbook of the National Democratic Party* (Indianapolis, 1896).

⁷⁸ Letter of G. Stevens to Vilas, August 17, 1896, Vilas Papers (in the Wisconsin State Historical Library, Madison).

⁷⁹ Various letters in the Vilas Papers, July-August, 1896.

⁸⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, August 25, 1896; also in the *New York Tribune*, October 17, 1896.

⁸¹ Letter of August 27, 1896, Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 604-8.

by law made him particularly susceptible to such charges. The Forman accusations were now taken up by William R. Morrison of Waterloo, Illinois, whose presidential aspirations had been seriously damaged through the Governor's influence. During the latter part of September, his friend, George R. Wendling, wrote to Morrison:⁸²

I want to see Illinois defeat Altgeld. I like Bryan, . . . but being honest, he will pay his debts to Altgeld, Tillman, Stone, Peffer, Cyclone Davis, and that crowd, and that will bankrupt him and the Country, therefore I shall not vote for him.

He suggested that a ringing denunciation of Bryan and Altgeld some time in October would be "a glorious thing for Morrison." This idea with the exception of that concerning Bryan, whom he favored, was in accord with the latter's hope of making a "literary contribution to the campaign."⁸³ On October 19, he wrote a letter to Judge B. R. Burroughs of Edwardsville, which was given to the press. He attempted to substantiate Forman's charges that Altgeld "sanctioned, approved, and encouraged the use of the money in the hands of the state treasurer and other officers for safekeeping by way of loans and deposits at interest for their own use." This, he claimed, was an "open secret." Altgeld had unlawfully opened the safe of the state treasurer to remove the funds and had discharged two state officers who had refused to permit the Governor to withdraw such money. Morrison declared Altgeld's record as a reformer was hypocritical and that the state was under his domination.⁸⁴ Such attacks were eagerly taken up by the partisan press. Forman sent a letter expressing his gratitude to the "idol of Egypt."⁸⁵

⁸² Letter of September 19, 1896, Notes of Prof. Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University; also in James A. Barnes, "Illinois and the Gold-Silver Controversy, 1890-1896," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1931, p. 55.

⁸³ Letter of Morrison to Wendling, October 28, 1896, Scott Notes.

⁸⁴ Letter of Morrison to Burroughs, October 19, 1896, *Chicago Chronicle*, October 22, 1896.

⁸⁵ Letter of Forman to Morrison, October 23, 1896, Scott Notes.

Ben R. Cable, another gold leader remarked that the Morrison letter was worth about 20,000 votes and that "the Governor's goose is cooked."⁸⁶ The *Jacksonville Journal* wrote:⁸⁷

The "Idol of Egypt" whose word is regarded by many around here as the law of the Medes and Persians makes his letter a knockout for Altgeld in this part of the state where Altgeld thought himself strong.

The local Republicans in the southern part of the state took advantage of this opportunity by circulating copies of the Morrison letter.⁸⁸

Altgeld replied with a stinging interview, rebuking Morrison's motives:⁸⁹

The fact is he wanted me to swing the Illinois delegation for him in the Chicago Convention and thought I ought to secure his nomination at the head of the ticket. But the people of this state would not have it and he had no chance whatever.

Morrison's charges did not include a statement of his sources of information. At all times, as is evident in his correspondence with Judge Wall,⁹⁰ he was ready to malign Altgeld's intentions and knew that his prestige, rather than additional facts, would tell against the Governor. An analysis of the election returns reveals the fact that the Morrison letter did no more than lose a handful of votes for Altgeld.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the gold orators accepted the "revelations" upon faith and attempted to weaken the hold of the Governor upon the workman. James Eckels, particularly, led in the abuse:⁹²

⁸⁶ *New York Tribune*, October 23, 1896.

⁸⁷ *Jacksonville Journal*, October 24, 1896.

⁸⁸ Letter of George Leverett of Edwardsville to Morrison, October 30, 1896, Scott Notes.

⁸⁹ *New York Tribune*, October 23, 1896.

⁹⁰ Wall Correspondence (in Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield).

⁹¹ Altgeld and Bryan both carried Morrison's county, Monroe, despite the attempt to "knife" the ticket. Perry and Randolph counties, nearby, gave Bryan advantages of thirty-six and sixty-three votes, respectively, ahead of Altgeld. Madison County was lost to both. *Official Directory of the Fortieth General Assembly of Illinois, Session of 1897* (Springfield, 1897), Appendix B, pp. 4, 8, 9.

⁹² *Chicago Chronicle*, October 31, 1896.

JOHN PETER ALTGELD AND THE ELECTION OF 1896

This great man, this immaculate Governor . . . stripped of the robes of his hypocrisy . . . is not a village Hampden . . . but instead is a lawless, reckless, swashbuckling Cain, marching at the head of a motley marauding band upon a capital city for purposes of plunder and private gain.

A similar attack was made by Senator Palmer who accused Altgeld of organizing all the lawless elements of the community into a party to advance his own political interests.⁹³ "Altgeldism" was the central issue among the "gold bugs."

The defection of Henry Lloyd from the Altgeld supporters was a serious one, since he carried many with him. Lloyd, while not opposing the Governor directly, was lukewarm in his support due to the insertion of the silver issue. In thought, he was sympathetic to the Fabian socialism then enjoying a strong growth in England, but was antagonized by the German Socialists who laid emphasis upon the doctrine of the class struggle. He therefore joined the Populist party.⁹⁴ Soon he became the nominee of the Middle-of-the-Road element for Lieutenant Governor. His attitude can be seen in the following letter to A. B. Adair.⁹⁵

The Free Silver movement is a fake. Free Silver is the cow-bird of the Reform movement . . . I for one decline to sit on the nest to help any such game . . . I may vote for Bryan as the knight of the Disinherited like Ivanhoe, but he will not be the next President, and I am content. But Altgeld's defeat I should regard as a great misfortune.

Lloyd eventually voted for the Socialist candidate for President. His action reveals the success of some of the radical organizations in convincing many of the futility of free silver as a panacea for the prevailing ills. Florence Kelley, who was closely attached to the Altgeld cause during the campaign, wrote to Lloyd:⁹⁶

⁹³ *Ibid.*, October 29, 1896.

⁹⁴ Letter of Lloyd to George A. Gates, May 23, 1895, Lloyd Papers.

⁹⁵ Letter of Lloyd to A. B. Adair, October 10, 1896, *ibid.*

⁹⁶ Letter of Florence Kelley to Lloyd, October 1, 1896, *ibid.*

HARVEY WISH

We miss you very much in the campaign. Things are badly muddled and Governor Altgeld's friends seem few indeed in this time of need. The Socialists and the labor skates are knifing him alike. The Silver populists and the straight trades-union vote seem to be his main hope besides the farmers. And if the working people allow him to be defeated now, in the face of his record, surely they deserve to have no other friend. So long as you do not come out for Governor Altgeld or do not at least formally declare yourself out of the race, your name will continue to be used to fool workingmen . . .

This appeal was effective. Lloyd withdrew his name from the Middle-of-the-Road Populist ticket. Other factors however, were more seriously against the election of Altgeld. Mrs. Kelley again wrote to Lloyd, several weeks before election day:⁹⁷

The coercion is so wholesale and the Forman charges so damaging, that I think the State is lost. Hence my conviction is strong that Tanner's election means the turning back of the labor movement in Illinois even more than the bomb did.

Altgeld later declared that there were arrayed against the people all of the financial interests, most of the great papers and every influence that money could buy. Laborers were coerced by employers to vote for McKinley and Tanner in Illinois, and similar scenes took place elsewhere.⁹⁸ During the weeks preceding election, leading business men marched in gold standard processions followed by their employees. Banks declined to make loans as a new business paralysis developed. Fear took possession of the community.⁹⁹ Hanna's war chest, representing the greatest campaign fund accumulation in the history of the United States up to that time, told heavily in favor of McKinley.

The election returns gave the Republicans the victory, although the margin was not great. McKinley obtained 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176 votes, but the popular vote gave the former 7,035,638 and the other 6,467,946, or

⁹⁷ October 15, 1896, *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Speech of July 5, 1898, in Kings County, New York, *Athena Debate*, July 6, 1898.

⁹⁹ Kohlsaat, *From McKinley to Harding*, 53.

JOHN PETER ALTGELD AND THE ELECTION OF 1896

respective percentages of 50.88 and 46.77. In Illinois, Bryan polled 464,523 votes and McKinley 607,130. Altgeld exceeded Bryan's state total by obtaining 474,256 votes, but his opponent, Tanner, received 587,637. The other tickets were relatively insignificant.¹⁰⁰

In Chicago, the news of McKinley's victory gave cause for excited hilarity among the great merchants. Kohlsaat noticed that "one of the world's greatest merchants" started the game of "Follow the Leader" in a fashionable Chicago club with prominent financiers crawling over sofas, chairs, tables, and finally dancing in each other's arms.¹⁰¹ Willis J. Abbot, an Altgeld man, reported that the far western silver leaders were blaming the "injection of Altgeldism" into the platform for the defeat of Bryan.¹⁰² Altgeld, however, expressed continued optimism and wrote to Bryan:¹⁰³

You have done a work for humanity which time will not efface and while we were not able to batter down all the fortified strongholds of plutocracy and corruption in our fight I am convinced that another assault will drive them from the land.

Several eastern newspapers were particularly jubilant over the defeat of Altgeld. The *New York Tribune* editorialized:¹⁰⁴

. . . The overthrow of Altgeld the Anarchist is cause for National rejoicing . . . It is a sorry day for burglars and bomb-throwers and mail-robbers—and all criminals in general, in Illinois and elsewhere.

One of the newspaper's contributors thought that the sentiment required rhyme:¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ *Official Directory of Fortieth General Assembly of Illinois, 1897*, Appendix B, pp. 4, 9.

¹⁰¹ Kohlsaat, *op. cit.*, 53.

¹⁰² Letter of Abbot to Lloyd, November 10, 1896, Lloyd Papers.

¹⁰³ Letter of Altgeld to Bryan, November 9, 1896, reprinted in James A. Barnes, *John G. Carlisle, Financial Statesman* (New York, 1931), p. 488.

¹⁰⁴ *New York Tribune*, November 5, 1896.

¹⁰⁵ This parody on Burns's poem appeared in the *New York Tribune*, November 12, 1896.

HARVEY WISH

Altgeld to Debs:

Eugene V. Debs, my jo, 'Gene,
When we were first acquent
You ran the Railway Union strike
And dared the Government,
While I released the Anarchists
And freely bade them go,
Ah! What a high old time we had,
Eugene V. Debs, my jo!

Accusations of wholesale fraud in the election of 1896 were frequently made by the Democrats. Carter H. Harrison later wrote that in the spring of 1897, in Chicago, over 60,000 names of phantom citizens were found on the election registry and used to deliver the huge Illinois majority to McKinley and Tanner.¹⁰⁶ Altgeld estimated 100,000 fraudulent votes had been counted in Illinois alone, and that fraud had been so great in other states that Bryan was actually the winner.¹⁰⁷

Altgeld was glad to retire, as far as he was personally concerned. His health had long before demanded it. He now prepared to leave the Governor's mansion with a gracious farewell speech to his successor, and sent a letter to the new Governor offering the escort to the inauguration ceremonies of himself and Mrs. Altgeld.¹⁰⁸ This courtesy was rudely ignored. Tanner instructed the House managers to refuse Altgeld permission to speak at the ceremonies, although a senator had proposed that the customary privilege be granted.¹⁰⁹ The new Governor proceeded to remove the taint of reform from his administration. Yerkes was given the desired bills, the factory

¹⁰⁶ Harrison, *Views of an Ex-President*, 73.

¹⁰⁷ Address at Tremont House, January 8, 1897, Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 693-97. For the other statements on this subject, see *ibid.*, 706-22.

¹⁰⁸ Letter of Altgeld to Tanner, January 10, 1897 (in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield).

¹⁰⁹ For the retiring speech of January 11, 1897, never delivered but given to the press, see Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 697-700.

owners were extended freedom from the demands of the zealous Mrs. Kelley, and the old political machine was returned to its former supremacy.

Louis F. Post has left a suggestive conclusion to Altgeld's career:¹¹⁰

While he lived it was necessary to discredit him in order to keep open the channels for respectable and legal plunder; and a hint was taken from the method of housebreakers who poison the watch dog in the yard before venturing to climb into the dwelling at the window.

¹¹⁰ Louis F. Post, "John Peter Altgeld," *The Public*, March 22, 1902.

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REMINISCENCES OF GOVERNOR JOSEPH FIFER

Following the custom of many years, the McLean County Bar Association had Gov. Joseph Fifer as its guest at a testimonial dinner at Bloomington on July 7, 1937. In the address he made on this occasion Governor Fifer, now nearly ninety-seven years of age, included some reminiscences which seem to me to have very general interest. In part he spoke as follows:

I came to this bar nearly seventy-three years ago. Among the members who constituted the bar at that time, not one of them was born in Illinois; they had all immigrated from the states of the east—Swett and Prince had come from Maine, that extremely eastern state; Captain Rowell had come from Vermont, I believe; the Spencers came from New York; Judge Davis, who presided over the court, came from Maryland; Adlai Stevenson, Ewing and many others came from Kentucky. They were young and educated men, and they wanted to come to this western country where they could have a wider opportunity for the exercise of their genius. There were bars then and later in Bloomington that have long since disappeared entirely, and are almost forgotten.

Now at the bar today, there is not a single lawyer that I know of besides myself, who ever saw Abraham Lincoln. In the old bar every member of it was quite familiar with him—they had tried lawsuits with and against him—but every one of those lawyers has long since passed away. Now, in some respects, in many respects, they were great men. They came to this new world not alone for the purpose of practicing law, but for a mixed purpose. They wanted to go into politics; they expected to run for office. But they also became good lawyers, although they hadn't many law books. When I came to the bar, the fortieth *Illinois Reports* had just come out; we had no appellate court and no appellate reports. We had Blackstone, Kent, Greenleaf on Evidence, a few textbooks, and a few reports of the Supreme Court. Now, the lawyers of today are at a great advantage over the old bar. They have about four hundred Supreme Court Reports; they have the Appellate Court Reports; and they have the best textbooks, so that a

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lawyer who has a question of law to determine can turn to the text-book and find a very good brief without bothering his head any further. Now, the lawyer of my day could not find this from the books in his own office; he had to evolve what the law ought to be from his own mind—and this made great thinkers of the lawyers of that day. It also made great statesmen. It produced Lincoln and Douglas, the greatest statesmen since the era of our independence, and it produced great lawyers. And I believe that in the bar of the old eighth circuit, now the third Supreme Court district, was the greatest single body of lawyers to be found anywhere in the entire United States.

Judge Davis, after serving for years on the supreme bench of the United States, the highest judicial body in the world, it is said, told me that Judge Stephen T. Logan of Springfield was the greatest lawyer he ever met. And I am inclined to believe, from what I knew about him and what I have learned about him since, that what he said is true. When the state of Missouri brought suit against the state of Illinois to settle the state line between the two states, the legislature of Illinois employed Stephen T. Logan to defend our state. The legislature of the state of Missouri employed at least half a dozen great lawyers—each member of the legislature wanted to appoint a friend to that duty, and seven or eight lawyers were appointed. The legislature of Illinois didn't need anyone else except Stephen T. Logan.

Sam Jones of Springfield told me the following story about this case. He and Logan were old friends, and when he met him one day on the street, Logan said to Jones: "I am going down to St. Louis to try the suit between Illinois and Missouri tomorrow in the federal court of that city; come and go with me. I have no company." Jones agreed to go, and he did go. He said Logan wore his everyday suit and a linen duster. He was blind as to fine dress and cared nothing about it. They went to St. Louis and stayed overnight at the hotel. Logan was an early riser and the next morning they appeared at the courtroom just after the arrival of the clerk. Logan looked over the papers, and about that time one of these big lawyers from Missouri came in and wanted to know of the clerk whether Illinois had any representation. Logan—modest man that he was—had taken a seat in a rather dark corner, and the clerk pointed to Logan and said: "There is the man who represents Illinois." The lawyer looked at him and put on a sardonic grin. Logan was a small man, and he was not in any sense of a good presence, and it is not to be wondered at that the lawyers should place a very low estimate upon him. Well, then the other lawyers—Jones told me—came in one by one, and each one asked the others who represented Illinois, and Logan was pointed out.

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Finally the arguments began—the court sat *in banc*—and they talked there one after another, great big, well-dressed men, and perhaps good lawyers. And then came Logan's turn. I have heard his voice and I have seen him in action; he had a metallic voice something like Lincoln's. Jones said he got up and had all of his law on the ends of his fingers, and it wasn't long until these big lawyers had slid down in their seats and about all you could see of them was the hair of their heads. He said that at the close of Logan's speech the courtroom seemed like an intellectual slaughterhouse; there was nothing left of the other side; and so it was. Our Supreme Court was always afraid of him; our lawyers were afraid to go up against him. His portrait hung for years in the Supreme Court room along with those of the members of the Court, but it has been taken away now, I believe. So I am ready to believe that Stephen T. Logan was the greatest lawyer, as Judge Davis said.

But he was not the only one in the old eighth circuit. There were other lawyers from Springfield—Edwards and Hay, and a number of others—and from Decatur, and from Danville; and from Bloomington we had Robert E. Williams, William H. Hanna, Stevenson, Ewing and a number of others. There were great lawyers in Chicago too, but I confine my remarks to the praise of the lawyers of the eighth circuit which is now the third Supreme Court judicial district, represented on the bench by the distinguished Judge Lott Herrick¹ of our own district.

We claim Mr. Herrick, Judge Herrick, as a member of our local bar. He lives in the outskirts of McLean County and most of his practice comes from our county, so we have adopted him and view him as a member of the McLean County Bar, and we want him to consider himself as a member of our bar.

Now, I don't know what more I can say to you about the old bar and the new one. I know at the old bar we enjoyed a good time more than the modern bar does. I know that in attending all of the lectures and shows that came to Bloomington, we would always find the lawyers in the midst of the circle. And we had a man living here, I think the wittiest man I ever knew; he was a friend of every member of the bar and every member of the bar was his friend. Chris Gilbreak was his name. As an exhibition of his wit, I shall tell you this circumstance. Judge Scott knew him long after he went on the supreme bench of the state, and one time when he came home he met Chris on the street, and said to him: "Why, Chris, where have you been keeping yourself? I have not seen you for a coon's age." "Well," Chris said, "Judge, if you will go in good company, you will meet me oftener than you do."

¹ Mr. Justice Herrick died at Rochester, Minnesota on September 18, 1937.

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He was sort of a sport, and we made him an honorary member of the bar, and he had all the privileges of the bar, and the lawyers used him. He associated with sports and frequented the saloons, and was always a good witness. If a woman sued her husband for a new fur coat on the grounds of habitual drunkenness, old Chris would be subpoenaed and help the lawyer win his case. He was a rascal. In one case a wife had sued her husband, and the lawyer bringing the suit used him as a witness. He put him on the stand and asked him all of the usual preliminary questions and then came the question: "Is the defendant in the habit of getting drunk?" Chris said, "I don't know." "Well, you have known him for a long time haven't you?" "Yes, I have known him all of his life," he said. Well, that flabbergasted the lawyer and he didn't know what to do. Chris saw his embarrassment and he said: "Well, while I cannot swear that I have seen him get drunk perpetually, I can swear that I saw him get drunk once, and he has been drunk ever since." And that is typical of Chris.

A great man lived in Bloomington in that day, and he had a son and started to make a business man of him. That failed and he tried to make a lawyer out of him but that also failed, so he just gave him an allowance of fifteen hundred dollars a year. The young man and Gilbreak were friends, and when the allowance was paid Chris would go with him from grocery to grocery until it was all used up. One time when that occurred, he said, "Chris, that is the last of my allowance, and we will have to go without drinks now for three months." Another time he said, "Chris, the old man is too stingy with me; fifteen hundred dollars is not enough for my support. What would you do about it, Chris?" "Well," Chris replied, "If I was you, I would go and talk to the old man kindly and tell him that fifteen hundred dollars is not enough for my support, and tell him that if he cannot raise your salary he will have to look for another man."

The last time I saw Chris Gilbreak I met him on the street in Bloomington, and he said to me, "Joe, I am going to leave you." "Where are you going, Chris?" I said. He replied, "Out to Iowa." "What are you going to do out there—freeze to death on the prairies?" I inquired. "No," he said, "I have a brother out there who is a farmer and he is raising a family of great big, strapping boys, and he wants me to come out there and live with him and set an example for his boys."

I remember the place of entertainment we had at Otto Claggett's, who kept a saloon just a few doors south of the People's Bank. His leading advertisement was game dinners, and he kept all kinds of game that you could think of, from bear meat to the rice birds of South

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Carolina, and he would hang them out in front of his saloon. Now, in the old days we had a motion hour in the morning, one hour, to settle preliminary questions of pleadings, demurrers, and all of those fugitive questions before the court tackled the regular docket. All of the lawyers liked to be there whether they had any business or not. There we would have a good time, and I am sorry that the motion hour has not been maintained. It kept up a better feeling and a better acquaintanceship between the lawyers, and I believe it ought to be restored. Now, at such gatherings, the lawyers would arrange for a game dinner at Claggett's, and we would meet there at the appointed time; Claggett would have notice that we were coming, and would fix up in good style—putting on a clean white apron. The dining room was upstairs, the saloon was below, and the food was carried up to the dining room on the elevator, and we met there. Weldon, one of the greatest orators and wits Illinois ever produced, Stevenson, Ewing, Karr, and my old partner, Phillips—all of these great wits would be there. We would sit there, the merriment increasing as the business went on, and some of the happiest occasions of my life were passed in that way with the old bar of Bloomington. But they have all gone now; not a one of them remains.

The members of the bar of McLean County feel that they were greatly privileged to have Governor Fifer with them on this occasion. We look forward to a similar meeting next year.

Wayne C. Townley

Bloomington, Illinois.

DANVILLE HONORS GURDON SALTONSTALL HUBBARD

Wednesday, August 18, 1937, the citizenry of eastern Illinois foregathered at Danville and turned back the pages of history more than a century to a bleak stormy morn in February, 1819, when Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, then a lad scarcely sixteen years old, in charge of a band

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of white and Indian employees of the American Fur Company, made his first visit to the present site of that city, then heavily timbered with giant oak and maple, and dotted with the tepees of the Piankashaw. He had come overland through the snows of the Illinois prairies from the trading post at the present town of Hennepin, on the Illinois River, to exchange trinkets and gewgaws for the pelts of the redmen who dwelt on that spot and in the village of the Kickapoo that bordered the Middle Fork on the west.

The trip was most successful and was the first of the many that the "trader" made during the nine years he was in the employ of the Astor company.

The year 1827 found him the sole owner of all the posts and rights possessed by the fur company in Illinois, and also marked the date when Danville was founded and was made the seat of justice of the new county of Vermilion. He was present at the original sale of lots and at its conclusion was the owner of the site now occupied by the Palmer Bank. Prior to that date his post on the Iroquois, Old Bunkum, presided over by Noel Le Vasseur, had been the headquarters of his various activities, but memories of that first visit to Piankashawtown and the location of the new village on the Vermilion and its nearness to the Wabash and other streams caused him to look with favor on Danville as his permanent home.

While the other settlers were busy in the building of log cabins he began the erection of the first plank house in eastern Illinois. It was two stories high and until 1833 was to be his headquarters. Here he displayed his trading stock and here he dwelt with Watseka, his Potawatomi wife, until 1829. Here his daughter was born and here she was laid to rest in the old Williams burying

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ground eight months after birth. It was here, too, after his Indian divorce, that he lived with the beautiful Eleanor Berry, a sister of Dr. William Fithian's wife, until 1833, when he disposed of his store and with his plunder loaded into three wagons, wended northward until the Old Hubbard Trace merged into State Street in the village by the lake. It was in November, 1833, that he sought his new home and it was a month later that he wrote Dr. Fithian: "So far I have no regret having moved to the smaller town."

The six years during which he called Danville his home were busy ones, and his activities were so many and so varied that sequence is impossible. Even while the post was building he was called to Chicago—his port of communication with the eastern seaboard markets—and made his famous ride to ask the aid of the Vermilion Rangers when Chicago was threatened by the warring Winnebago. The story of the twenty-hour trip and the response of the settlers of old Vermilion is but another of the gripping tales of the winning of the middle west. Again when Black Hawk and his Sacs were pillaging the northern settlements, he not only accompanied Colonel Moores and the Vermilion regiment—300 strong—as a lieutenant, but denuded his posts at Danville and at Iroquois of all guns, ammunition and other supplies and furnished four wagons with teams to carry the regimental baggage. It was while he was in the field that Vermilion County selected him as a member of the state legislature, where he served with credit. He also found time as the official representative of the state of Illinois to visit Indianapolis and protest to the legislature the building of a dam across the Wabash at Eugene, in furtherance of a dream of the old pioneers that some day steamboats would come ploughing up to a landing near where Father Kingsbury and Amos

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Williams had built their homes—an unfulfilled dream that later resulted in the legislature's deciding that the first railroad to be built by the state should extend from the Illinois River to Danville. Thus good came out of evil.

Eighteen hundred twenty-seven and the Indians in their tepees were disturbed by the blows of the axmen intent upon the erection of snug cabins for the dwellers in the town soon-to-be and the pounding of others as they drove home the wooden pegs that were to hold together the first plank house—the home of Trader Hubbard, Danville's first merchant.

Eleven decades later and a city of 40,000 was entertaining 10,000 visitors who had come to join in paying tribute to the memory of the lad who later was to be so closely identified with the story of early Danville and pioneer Chicago.

The occasion for the celebration was the dedication of a beautiful bronze plaque—the gift of Henry Raymond Hamilton of Chicago, a nephew of the “old trader”—in a corridor of the Vermilion County courthouse. It was meet that this permanent memorial should be placed there, as it was on this site that the first courthouse stood—the one where Abraham Lincoln, David Davis, Dan Voorhees and the other lawyers who rode the old eighth circuit held forth—and Gurdon Hubbard was the builder. That was in 1832 and here justice was meted out until 1873, when fire made necessary the erection of the second building.

Danville was the scene of the celebration but all the old Hubbard territory, from Old Bunkum on the north down to Georgetown and Ridgefarm on the south, participated. The exercises began with a street pageant stringing along in colorful splendor for twenty-four blocks—the historical floats of the various towns, with their re-

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minders of yesteryear mingling with the floral-bedecked exhibits of the different business and industrial groups. The fifty Rangers who rushed to the aid of Chicago in 1827 rode again, as did troops of Potawatomi from Hoopeston, trailed by Kickapoo from Westville. Then, too, there were Keannekeuk, Christian Kickapoo and friend of Hubbard, Dr. Tradeau, first doctor, with his identical saddlebags, and Grandma Guymon, first midwife; and Cyrus Douglas and Ruby Bloss, first bridal couple, once more journeyed toward Paris to secure a marriage license, with the bride-to-be clinging coyly to the stalwart groom. Once again Abraham Lincoln—a professional—followed the old eighth circuit, while close behind came Sol Banta, Danville's first lawyer. Peter Cartwright, Methodist, and Enoch Kingsbury, Presbyterian, shared a float with a lass attired in the fashion of the thirties who fingered out the gospel hymns of grandma's day upon the first organ brought to the county—one which saw service in the Baptist church—while the two men of the cloth took turns in ringing Danville's first church bell, which called the faithful to the Presbyterian services. John Vance was there with one of the original kettles from the Old Salt Works, and the *Commercial-News* offered an ox-drawn truck bearing a printing press that saw service a century ago. A covered wagon, a high bicycle and the city's first horseless carriage shared honors with a modern tractor manipulated by a young lady. Watseka revealed the maiden—Hubbard's first wife—seated in her tepee, while Milford recalled the pioneer days by reproducing the old red pump. Music was furnished by the Danville American Legion drum corps—now state champions—a cowboy band, the Catlin Cornet band, "Noisemakers since 1867," and the high school musical units of Rankin and Potomac townships. The city of Danville was represented by a floral truck which bore the "Hubbard Day" queen and her five

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maids of honor, while Vermilion County reproduced, to scale, the old courthouse which Hubbard built.

Following the parade, Walter C. Lindley of Danville, federal judge, delivered an oration from a stand in the public square. Henry Raymond Hamilton was unable to attend the celebration but was officially represented by Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine, a close friend during the waning days of the "old trader" and former librarian of the Chicago Historical Society.

At the conclusion of the address the queen, Deloris Ilene Saults, of Oakwood, and her five maids of honor, Louise Ercenbrack of Hegeler, Eileen Craft of Westville, Betty Jo Parrett of Covington, Indiana, Beverly Smith of Potomac, and Wathena Benefield of Tilton were taken to the courthouse where the plaque was unveiled. Clint Clay Tilton delivered the dedicatory address.

It is planned to hold a similar celebration in Watseka, where Hubbard also had a trading post, next year.

Clint Clay Tilton²

Danville, Illinois

THE LA SALLIER MONUMENT

Dedicated by the Dixon Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution

On the afternoon of June 26, 1937, the Dixon Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a marker which they had erected to the memory of Pierre La Sallier, the first white settler in Lee County. The site

² With characteristic modesty, Mr. Tilton has refrained from any mention of his own part in the Hubbard celebration. The conception was his, and his was the initiative and energy which, almost unaided, brought it to successful fruition.—Editor.

of the cabin is some seven miles northeast of Dixon in the community locally known as "The Kingdom." Joseph Crawford, a surveyor who in 1835 took up a nearby claim from the government, discovered the ruins of the La Sallier cabin, while surveying in the same year. Later W. H. Edwards, father of Judge Harry Edwards, and Frank E. Stevens spent some time on the spot, making a plat of it and its surroundings. Near one of the Indian graves they found a piece of a human bone. Still later, Prof. L. B. Neighbour spent much time studying this interesting old spot.

The remains of La Sallier's cabin are plainly visible—the fallen stones of the fireplace, the hollow in the ground made by the fur press, the sunken graves of more than twenty adults, probably Indians. The cabin stood on a high bluff overlooking Franklin Creek, about one-third of a mile from the present public highway. It was thought by Professor Neighbour that two trails crossed near the cabin. The one trail is still plainly seen in the spring, when the grass is short. It goes diagonally from southeast to northwest, and probably ended at Galena, or perhaps Fort Snelling. The marks of the other trail are practically obliterated and can be deciphered only by one who is accustomed to reading such landmarks. It was Professor Neighbour's belief that the trails were there before the cabin, and that La Sallier built at the crossing in order to take advantage of the traffic in his fur trading.

The dedicatory services held by the Daughters of the American Revolution were simple, but suitable and impressive in their character. Mr. Frank E. Stevens, of Springfield, Illinois, made the address of the day. Because of the fact that the marker is located on a sunny highway several miles from Dixon, the services were held at the Methodist Church in Dixon; after the address the audience

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was invited to visit the marker, and cars were provided by the members of the local chapter of the Daughters. Many people availed themselves of the privilege and were much pleased at the simple dignity of the granite boulder which marks the site of this interesting spot.

Mr. Stevens has written and published a booklet entitled *James Watson Webb's Trip Across Illinois in 1822*, which tells in detail the story of young Webb's connection with La Sallier and his cabin; this is practically the only available information about La Sallier.³

The Daughters of the American Revolution in their efforts to mark historic spots, including the site of old Fort Dixon, have spent long years at their task. Each spot so marked has been an outstanding one, but in recognizing La Sallier's home, we feel that we have marked the one spot above all others in northern Illinois which has true historic value.

Lucile M. Warner

Dixon, Illinois

³ See the article by Frank E. Stevens, "Pierre La Sallier: Lee County's First White Settler" pp. 345-52.

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One hundred and fifty years ago the Ordinance of 1787 was adopted by the Continental Congress of the United States. The Ordinance not only provided a government for the Northwest Territory, out of which the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota were formed, but also laid down principles which have become fundamental in the American ideal. Most important of these were the prohibition of slavery, a guarantee of religious freedom, the abolition of primogeniture, and the provision for the creation of new states on an equal basis with the original states.

In order to mark suitably the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance, the federal government created the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission. The sixtieth General Assembly of Illinois provided for an Illinois Commission to consist of Gov. Henry Horner, five members of the Senate, five of the House of Representatives, and sixteen citizens of the state. The following individuals have been appointed to the Commission:

Henry C. Allen.....	Lyndon
Paul M. Angle.....	Springfield
Laurence F. Arnold.....	Newton
Horace J. Bridges.....	Chicago
C. LeRoy Brown.....	Chicago
E. E. Campbell.....	Granite City
Cono Cuifia.....	Chicago
C. F. Easterday.....	Vandalia
Charles H. Edwards.....	Aurora

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Louis L. Emmerson.....	Mount Vernon
Mrs. Sara John English.....	Jacksonville
Richey V. Graham.....	Cicero
Thomas P. Gunning.....	Princeton
Robert M. Harper.....	East Moline
Mrs. Barbara Burr Hubbs.....	Chicago
Thomas E. Keane.....	Chicago
Paul Kiniery.....	Chicago
William J. Klibanow.....	Chicago
Peter S. Lambros.....	Chicago
James Weber Linn.....	Chicago
Dean S. McGaughey.....	Mount Zion
John W. Merrigan.....	Jacksonville
Mrs. Henry T. Rainey.....	Carrollton
Ernest L. Schein.....	Chicago
William Schlake.....	Chicago
Julius F. Smietanka.....	Chicago
George H. Smith.....	Chicago
Marshall Solberg.....	Chicago
Mrs. Paul Steinbrecher.....	Chicago
Adlai E. Stevenson.....	Chicago
Melvin Thomas.....	Charleston
Barney Thompson.....	Rockford
Clint Clay Tilton.....	Danville
Mrs. Bernice T. Van Der Vries...	Winnetka

One hundred years ago the General Assembly of Illinois passed the famous Internal Improvements Act, under which a comprehensive network of canals and railroads was to be created. The Panic of 1837 followed, with the result that only one of the many projects contemplated was ever completed. That was the Northern Cross Railroad, the first steam road in the state, from Meredosia to Springfield.

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On August 13, 14 and 15 the citizens of Meredosia celebrated the centennial of the Northern Cross. An exhibit of material originally used on the Northern Cross was a feature of the occasion. The line is still in existence as a part of the Wabash system.

This year Chicago celebrates the one-hundredth anniversary of its incorporation as a city. In recognition of the anniversary, the July issue of the *Illinois Journal of Commerce*, official publication of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, was dedicated to Chicago, past and present. Among the features of the issue were articles on the history of several of the city's major industries—transportation, insurance, real estate, meat packing, farm machinery and the stock exchange; descriptions of the Field Museum, the Chicago Historical Society and the city's universities; a chronology of Chicago history; and an honor roll of the oldest business establishments. The issue was also distinguished by a large number of excellent photographs. One series, reproduced from the collection of the Chicago Historical Society, depicted Chicago scenes from 1836 to the present; another was made up of paintings of the modern city by Richard A. Chase.

The Society of the War of 1812, the Chicago Historical Society, the Junior Association of Commerce and other civic and patriotic organizations commemorated the one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary of the Fort Dearborn massacre on August 15, 1935. A pageant was presented, and addresses were made by Rear Admiral Hayne Ellis, U. S. N., Maj. Gen. Frank Parker, U. S. A. Ret., and Floyd E. Thompson, President of the Illinois Society, Sons of the American Revolution. The exercises were held at the Chicago Historical Society.

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Parades and pageantry, free entertainments, and an address by State Senator James O. Monroe marked Collinsville's centennial, celebrated on September 2, 3 and 4. The *Collinsville Herald* made the centennial the occasion for a special edition of six sections (September 2), in which the history of the city is presented in interesting detail. There one learns that the city is exceedingly modest in claiming only a hundred years of existence. Ephraim Connor settled in the vicinity in 1800, and a steady stream of settlers followed his example. A village was not platted, however, until 1837, although by that time there were several hundred persons in the district. Collinsville takes its name from the Collins family, several members of which emigrated from Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1817.

Farmer City, DeWitt County, marked its centennial with a four-day celebration which began on June 27. Parades, a display of old furniture, tools and clothing; a pageant, special church services and fireworks displays were features of the celebration. To commemorate the occasion the *Farmer City Journal* issued a centennial edition devoted in the main to a comprehensive history of the community.

History of Marshall County is reviewed in a centennial edition of the *Lacon Home Journal*, weekly, of August 26. The newspaper was established as the *Lacon Herald* by Allen Nicholas Ford, who was born near Ithaca, N. Y., on December 4, 1807. The name was changed to the *Lacon Gazette* two years later, and in 1866, when the plant was acquired by the late Spencer Ellsworth, the paper became the *Home Journal*.

Delavan, Tazewell County, celebrated the centennial of its founding with a three-day program on August 28, 29

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and 30. A historical pageant was presented in the evening of each day. At centennial headquarters and in windows of many stores were displayed relics, printed material and photographs of the pioneer days. Delavan was founded by members of an association formed in Providence, Rhode Island. The town was named for Edward C. Delavan of Albany, New York, temperance advocate.

In connection with the centennial of Monticello, Dr. C. M. Bumstead and Darrell J. Tippettt wrote a sketch of the community which has recently been published under the title, *Centennial History, Monticello, Illinois, July 4, 1837—July 4, 1937*. The publication is a comprehensive account of a century of growth, suitably illustrated with photographs and drawings.

During the first week in May, the First Baptist Church of Rock Island celebrated the completion of its first century. The observance included special church services, a historical pageant, and a centennial banquet. In connection with the centennial a history of the church was published under the title, *One Hundred Years of the First Baptist Church of Rock Island, Illinois, 1837-1937*. The story of the founding and growth of the church, to which a major part of the book is devoted, was written by the Rev. Henry C. First in 1927 but remained unpublished until its appearance as a part of the centennial history.

At Grand Detour, on June 25, a memorial to Maj. Leonard Andrus, founder of the village and pioneer in the development of the steel plow, was dedicated. The memorial, presented by Leonard Andrus III of Portland, Oregon, grandson of the original Leonard Andrus, con-

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sists of a rectangular stone floor surrounded on three sides by a low stone wall, with a granite monument arising in the rear. On the shaft is a bronze plaque. Speakers at the dedication were Dean Chris L. Christensen of the College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin; and Frank E. Stevens, Vice-President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Leonard Andrus founded the village of Grand Detour in 1836. The following year John Deere, the village blacksmith, made the first plow with a solid steel mold-board, and thus introduced an improvement of incalculable importance in agricultural tools. In 1843 Deere and Andrus formed a partnership under the style of L. Andrus & Co., which lasted until 1847, when Deere withdrew, moved to Moline, and founded the business now known as Deere & Co. Andrus continued to operate in Grand Detour until his death in 1867. Two years later his plant was moved to Dixon, where it was operated under the name of the Grand Detour Plow Co. until 1919, when it became a part of the J. I. Case Co.

The history of Mascoutah, St. Clair County, was colorfully portrayed in a pageant which featured the centennial celebration held on August 7, 8 and 9. Mascoutah was a direct outgrowth of the unsuccessful German Revolution of 1830. After the suppression of the revolt a number of those involved commissioned Theodore Hilgard, Jr., to select a suitable site for settlement in the United States. Hilgard chose the present location of Mascoutah, returned to Germany, and came back with the first group of immigrants. Their settlement was known at first as Mechanicsburg, but in 1838, at the instance of postal authorities, the name was discarded in favor of the present designation.

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The centennial of Knox College and Galesburg gave rise to several publications of enduring value.

In the first place, the *Official Program* is much more than its title implies. In fact, its principal interest is historical, for it contains concise histories of the city, the college, and other institutions; "thumb nail" biographies of many early settlers; and excellent reproductions of photographs and prints of historical interest. Anyone interested in the history of Illinois in the nineteenth century will do well to obtain a copy if he can.

Another interesting and valuable by-product of the centennial is a little volume entitled *Log City Days*,¹ containing the diary of Jerusha Loomis Farnham and a sketch of Log City by Samuel Holyoke. Log City was the name of a temporary settlement, north of the future city of Galesburg, in which the first colonists lived while their permanent homes were being built. Galesburg was unique among pioneer villages in that no log cabins were ever erected within its limits.

The diary was kept by the wife of Eli Farnham, and covers an overland trip from Skaneateles, New York, to Galesburg in the spring of 1837, and also a residence of several months in Log City. Samuel Holyoke's sketch of Log City was written from memory in 1910, and is accompanied by a drawing of each building in the settlement, made at the same time.

The two documents were edited for publication by Earnest Elmo Calkins.

Surpassing both the *Official Program* and *Log City Days* in permanent value is Mr. Calkins' fine volume, *They Broke the Prairie*.² The sub-title describes the book exactly: "Some account of the settlement of the Upper Mississippi Valley

¹ *Knox College Centenary Publications*.

² Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. \$2.50.

by religious and educational pioneers, told in terms of one city, Galesburg, and of one college, Knox." In 433 pages Mr. Calkins traces the contemporaneous founding of college and town, the development of the college to its present distinctive place in the educational system of the Middle West, and the expansion of the town from a struggling village dominated by the bleak religion of its founders to a modern city composed of different racial groups and engaged in all the diverse activities that an aggregation of 30,000 people implies. The book is an excellent case study in social history, and deserves wide emulation.

Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi: The Water Way to Iowa is the title of the latest special publication of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The author is William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the Society.

As its title indicates, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* is concerned primarily with the traffic north of St. Louis, although a number of excellent introductory chapters furnish the reader with an adequate background for the principal theme of the book. That theme is developed thoroughly, for all phases of river traffic are treated with documented detail from 1823, when the *Virginia* first pushed upstream to Fort St. Anthony, to 1870, when the steamboat yielded to the railroad.

Much of *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* relates directly or indirectly to Illinois. Galena played a role of particular importance. Lead was one of the principal articles of river commerce, and Galenians—particularly Capt. Daniel Smith Harris, whom Mr. Petersen selects for extended biographical treatment—were commanding figures on the river.

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Another volume of cognate interest to Illinoisans is *A History of Kentucky*, by Thomas D. Clark.³ Historically, Kentucky is more closely related to Illinois than any other state. Probably half of the first generation of our settlers were from Kentucky, and the manners and customs of that state left a mark on Illinois which is discernible to this day. Readers who are interested in a well-rounded account of the sister-commonwealth will find it in Mr. Clark's book. His chapters on the foundations of Kentucky society, agriculture, transportation, education and slavery are especially pertinent.

The *Galena Guide*, first publication of the Illinois unit of the Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, was issued during July. It is a publication of ninety-six pages, and has been officially sponsored by the mayor and city council of Galena.

The *Galena Guide* is a combination guidebook, history and reference work. Several chapters trace the history of the town from prehistoric times to the present. "Strolling Our Streets" is the title of a chapter devoted to a walking tour of the city in which the outstanding landmarks are pointed out and described. A chronology of Galena history and a bibliography are included. The book is illustrated with woodcuts furnished by artists of the Federal Art Project and with sixteen pages of photographs.

This first Illinois production of the Federal Writers' Project will surprise many by its attractive appearance and general excellence. It is to be followed by similar publications for other cities of the state, and by a volume covering Illinois as a whole.

³ Prentice-Hall, 1937. \$5.

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Selected Bibliography: Illinois, Chicago and its Environs is the title of a recent publication of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration. Approximately 350 titles are listed with brief characterizations. These titles were selected from the bibliography used in connection with the compilation of the Illinois volume of *The American Guide*, and have been classified to conform to the arrangement of that work. The *Selected Bibliography* covers a wide range of subjects, and will be found satisfactory for most of the purposes to which such works are put.

On August 30, 1937, the *Herrin Daily Journal* issued a "Progress and Achievement Edition." Consisting of twelve sections and eighty-four pages, it is filled with numerous accounts, well-illustrated, about Herrin and vicinity. Incorporated as a city in 1900, four years after the discovery of coal there, Herrin has now reached a population of more than 10,000 people. This special edition of the *Journal* reviews the history of this coal-shipping center, and is an interesting and valuable historical document.

Mid-America for July, 1937, contains an article entitled "La Salle, 1669-1673", which is of especial interest to anyone concerned with the history of the discovery of the Illinois Country. The author makes a strong case against La Salle's reputed discovery of the Ohio River, and incidentally proves the existence of very serious defects in Pierre Margry's collection of documents, *Decouvertes et Etablissements*. The article, of which only the first half appears in the July number, is the work of the Rev. Jean Delanglez, S. J., Research Professor at Loyola University.

Senachewine, the Potawatomi chief who refused to be led into war by Black Hawk, was honored by the erection of a

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memorial plaque on June 13. The plaque, erected by the George Rogers Clark Chapter (Peoria), of the Sons of the American Revolution, is inscribed with the words with which Senachewine refused Black Hawk's call to war. It has been placed at Senachewine's burial place on the George Wheeler farm north of Putnam. The ceremonies included tribal dances and rites by five Potawatomi Indians from the reservation at Mayetta, Kansas, and a dedicatory address by P. G. Rennick of Peoria. More than 2,000 people attended the exercises.

A plaque marking the birthplace of Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, Chairman of the Board, Radio Corporation of America, and formerly Chief of Staff, United States Army, was unveiled on July 6, 1937, with ceremonies under the auspices of the McLean County Historical Society. General Harbord, who was born on a farm six miles southeast of Bloomington in 1866, was present for the occasion, as was also Brig. Gen. Charles G. Dawes, his war-time associate. Wayne C. Townley, president of the McLean County Historical Society, presided at the luncheon which was given in General Harbord's honor.

One hundred and twenty-five people were present at a dinner meeting of the Quincy Historical Society on June 11. Mrs. J. W. Emory, President of the Society, introduced Charles F. Eichenauer, who presented Paul M. Angle. Mr. Angle spoke on the opportunities for effective historical work which local historical societies enjoy. The meeting was held in the Quincy Historical Society's building, the beautiful old residence once owned and occupied by Gov. John Wood.

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At its June meeting, held in the city hall in Trenton, the Clinton County Historical Society adopted a plan for systematically collecting and preserving the county's history. The plan provides for a county committee which, with the officers of the Society, will designate three persons in every township to collect data relating to their localities. The Society's main purpose is the collection and preservation of local history in all its phases—civil, military, social, educational and religious. Henry Bender, Carlyle, is president; J. H. Glasser, Trenton, is vice-president; and H. C. Norcross, Carlyle, is secretary.

The Kankakee County Historical Society has recently been provided with a large room in the courthouse in which the Society's collection is attractively housed. Present officers are: B. B. Ferris, president; Frank O. Schneider, first vice-president; John C. Bohmker, second vice-president; Caroline Weaver, secretary; and Henry Heavitt, treasurer.

Hidden in a vault seldom used among paid invoices nearly half a century old, an employee of the Peoria Public Library recently found two 1835 copies of the *Illinois Champion and Peoria Herald*, the city's first newspaper founded in March, 1834. The library catalogue listed only two mutilated copies, both recently acquired.

Fort Jordan, a stockade which was the site of the first settlement in Franklin County, will be rebuilt if plans now being made by the American Legion and other patriotic organizations are carried into effect. Fort Jordan was built in 1804 near the present village of Thompsonville. Liberty Cemetery, nearby, contains the grave of the first white man who died in the county.

CONTRIBUTORS

P. G. Rennick, of Peoria, has long made the study of the history of Peoria and its environs his principal avocation. His paper on the Peoria and Galena trail and coach road was published in the *Journal* for January, 1935. Mr. Rennick is a former president of the Peoria Historical Society. . . . Frank E. Stevens is a charter member of the Illinois State Historical Society, a frequent contributor to its publications, and the author of a number of notable studies in Illinois history, best known of which are *The Black Hawk War*, and the *Life of Stephen Arnold Douglas*. Mr. Stevens claims Sycamore as his residence, although he has lived in Springfield in recent years. . . . Harvey Wish is Assistant Professor of History at De Paul University, Chicago.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787*

By

MILO M. QUAIFFE

A certain literary school has popularized, in recent years, the idea that our own Middle West is a dreary, somber land, peopled by a boorish race of men and women, who are strangers to the graces of social intercourse and devoid of intellectual and cultural ideals. Confining his remarks to the Old Northwest, the sober historian finds it difficult to account for this literary obsession, for here is a land of noble rivers and sparkling lakes, of fertile fields and stately woodlands, inhabited by a race as industrious and intelligent, probably, as any comparable number of people on the globe.

The name "Old Northwest" implies that the five states included in it share a common historical and social background. Between the southern end of the Old Northwest, which looks down upon the beautiful Ohio, and its northern extremity, lapped by the blue waters of Huron and Superior, there are wide variations of geographic and economic conditions; yet the teeming millions who now inhabit this region are conscious of an identity of interests, and of a common outlook upon life, which give to the Old Northwest an individuality as distinct as that possessed by the people of New England, or of the Old South.

*This article was prepared originally to serve as the final chapter in the history of the Ordinance of 1787 issued by the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission. This circumstance, together with the further fact that the book in question is designed for the use of children in the public schools, has largely determined the scope and the language of the article. It is published here, with additions and revisions, because the current celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance makes its wider availability desirable.—*Editor*.

If we seek for the explanation of this individuality, we are led inevitably to the ordinance enacted by the dying Congress of the Confederation on July 13, 1787. As mountain peaks overtop the surrounding plain, a few great legislative acts in our history tower above the vast body of statutes which fills the rows of books in our law libraries. Magna Charta, extorted from reluctant King John at Runnymede seven hundred years ago, is one such document; the Quebec Act of 1774, fateful for the future of Canada and the United States, is another. Of like character are our Federal Constitution and the Ordinance of 1787, both drafted in the same year; one for the government of the American nation, the other for the government of the land lying north and west of the Ohio River.

The Old Northwest was chiefly a wilderness in 1787, but it was not a vacant wilderness. Everywhere were the native red men who quite naturally viewed the country as their own, to be defended to the last extremity of their power. At many points—Detroit, Maumee Rapids, Fort Wayne, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Joseph, Prairie du Chien, Green Bay, and Mackinac, to mention a few—were civilized communities which had been founded by the French during the century which ended with the English conquest of Canada in 1760. Following the conquest, British officials and army officers, traders and adventurers, had entered the western country, and in many instances had intermarried with the older French population. Although the Treaty of Paris of 1783 had given the West to the new United States, with the Great Lakes and the Mississippi as its northern and western boundaries, the close of the Revolution found Great Britain in actual possession of all but the southern end of the Old Northwest, and this possession she did not surrender until the summer of 1796.

So it came about that before settlers from the seaboard colonies could occupy the country north of the Ohio, the British government must be expelled from it, and the Indian tribes must be conquered by the United States. The leaders who formed the Ohio Company were substantial New Englanders, many of whom had been officers in the army during the recent war. They had been familiar from infancy with the New England system of local government, and while they were ready to remove to the western country to develop new homes in the wilderness, they had no thought of abandoning the shelter of organized government. South of the Ohio, the settlers had moved into the West on their individual responsibilities, depending upon their own resources and courage for protection against savages and wilderness alike. This had been possible because the Kentucky country was not only a rich land of mild climate, but because it had long been a vacant wilderness, where no Indians lived, and no foreign government exercised jurisdiction. So the Boones and Kentons and their comrades had moved in, asking no permission or protection from any civilized government. The New Englanders, on the contrary, from the beginning of their history had occupied the wilderness by organized communities, and from ancient habit organized new towns as fast as they pushed the line of frontier settlement westward and northward. With the Ohio country occupied by powerful Indian tribes who were sternly resolved to keep the Americans out of it, and who enjoyed the sympathy and the support of the British officials, there was every reason why the intruding settlers should insist upon having an organized government go with them into the Northwest.

So their spokesman went to New York and persuaded the Confederation Congress to give them the government they wished, and the act it passed is known as the Ordinance of 1787. The object of the measure was fully stated in its title,

“An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, North-west of the River Ohio.” It contained two principal parts; the first described the actual scheme of the government to be erected, while the second contained six articles which were declared to be a “compact” between the people of the original states and the people and states of the Northwest Territory. In those days the word “compact” was applied to the most solemn agreement known to political science, and the six articles of the Ordinance of 1787 were to “forever remain unalterable,” unless changed by the common consent of the two parties concerned in it. We shall first consider the form of government provided, and later, the articles comprising the compact.

The thirteen colonies, which in 1776 declared their independence from England, all lay east of the Allegheny Mountains, with their settled portions extending barely two hundred miles inland from the seashore. Today our country extends “from sea to shining sea,” a distance of three thousand miles. It was the Ordinance of 1787, or rather the governmental conception which first found concrete expression in it, which made possible this vast westward expansion of our country from the Alleghenies to the Pacific, and its development from a union of thirteen seaboard states into one of forty-eight states, continental in extent.

It came about in this way. Before the American Revolution, colonies were universally regarded as dependencies which were to be governed by the mother country for the promotion of its own advantage. After the conquest of Canada, the British ministry decided to maintain a standing army in America. Someone must pay the cost of supporting it, and since the colonies were to be protected by the army, the ministry determined that they should be taxed to raise a portion of the expense. The colonists, however, refused to submit to such taxation, and after a long period of argu-

ment and debate, made good their refusal by waging a successful war against their king. This success led directly to one of the most momentous political discoveries in human history. The colonists had refused to be treated any longer as mere dependents, subject to the control of a distant parliament in which they were not represented. Now, however, before even independence had been won, they found themselves face to face with the selfsame problem, *how to govern a dependency*, which had baffled the wit of the British ministry and parliament. For some of the colonies had claims, more or less well-founded, to portions of the wilderness west of the Alleghenies; other colonies had none, and Maryland in particular demanded that since the latter were fighting, no less than the former, to win national independence, they should share with the former in the ownership of the western country, won by the "common blood and treasure" of all the colonies.

The debate over this issue went on for several years in the Continental Congress, Maryland, meanwhile, stoutly refusing to join any federal government until her demand concerning the western country should be met. Out of the long debate was gradually evolved the new political idea for the government of dependencies. One by one, the states having claims to land in the western wilderness ceded them to the general government, to be administered for the common benefit of all the states; and the Congress, as spokesman for them all, solemnly pledged that the country thus given to the nation should be organized into new states which would be admitted to the Union on an equality with the existing states.

This program for the government of America's own colonial domain eliminated at a single stroke the grievance which had driven the older colonies into rebellion against their king and country. For their complaint, at bottom, had been

that they were regarded as politically inferior to their countrymen at home, subject to be governed forever by the latter, without regard to their own views or desires. The American program said, in effect, to the western colonists: "While you are few in numbers, strangers to one another, and menaced by hostile forces outside yourselves, the nation will govern and protect you, as a parent governs and protects his child; but as soon as you reach a state of maturity where you can do these things for yourselves, you will be admitted to the union of states, with the same powers and privileges that all the rest enjoy."

Thus, and only thus, could the American nation ever have been extended from sea to sea. The great political discovery which made this extension possible was hammered out in the heat of debate over the formation of our first national union, the government of the Confederation, which came into being in 1781; but it was first given concrete application in the Ordinance of 1787, which provided the form of government for the territory northwest of the Ohio River. Today, this principle, unconfined by the boundaries of the Old Northwest, or even of the United States, marches triumphantly around the world; for the United States has extended it to her overseas dependencies, while Great Britain, profiting by the lessons of experience, has extended self-rule to Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, and is gradually conceding it to the remaining portions of the Empire.

The Ordinance provided for two stages of government. In the beginning, all political control was entrusted to a governor and three judges, appointed by the national government. The governor and judges exercised the supreme executive, legislative, and judicial powers of the Territory; they were not chosen by the people, and the people had no power over them; they were answerable solely to the President

and Congress of the United States. The Territory in this first stage was a colony, whose citizens were without the powers of self-government.

As soon, however, as there should be 5,000 free adult male inhabitants in the Territory, the second stage of government was to be set up, having a general assembly of two houses: the members of one were elected by the voters; of the other, by a procedure in which both the voters and the national government shared. To resort to the analogy of the minor child, we may compare the Territory in this stage with a boy or girl of fourteen or fifteen, old enough to govern himself in ordinary matters, but still in need of parental guidance and control whenever more important issues arise. This state of partial self-government was to be terminated whenever the population of any of the future states (for which Article Five of the Compact made provision) should reach 60,000 free inhabitants. At such time the people might frame a state constitution and government, and be admitted to the Union "on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever." The child had now become a man, invested with all the privileges and responsibilities of manhood's estate.

Turning to the articles of compact, Article Five provided that not less than three, nor more than five, states should be formed from the entire territory, and the north-south boundaries of the three were fixed at approximately the present Ohio-Indiana and Indiana-Illinois lines, extended northward to Canada. If Congress should later see fit to do so, however, it might organize either one or two states in that portion of the territory lying north of an east and west line through the southern extreme of Lake Michigan. Congress eventually organized two northern states, but the provision concerning their southern boundary was ignored, and Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois all gained important accessions of terri-

tory north of the "Ordinance line," at the expense, of course, of the two northern states. No other provision of the Ordinance provoked as much angry discord as this one; in Wisconsin threats to secede from the Union were made, while Michigan raised an army to defend the disputed area against invasion from Ohio. In the end, the will of Congress prevailed, the most noticeable shifts in boundary being the extension of Illinois over sixty miles northward from the Ordinance line, at the expense of Wisconsin, and the gift of the Upper Peninsula to Michigan, also at the expense of Wisconsin.

Thus, to the Ordinance of 1787 the five great commonwealths of the Old Northwest owe their existence, and the approximate location of their boundaries. All, too, were governed as territories on the plan prescribed by the Ordinance, for varying terms of years, before their admission to statehood. The progress of settlement was, of course, from the east and the south, westward and northward. In 1800 Indiana Territory was created, and three years later the easternmost section of the original Northwest Territory became the state of Ohio with its present boundaries, save for the subsequent northern extension we have already described. Michigan Territory was organized in 1805, Illinois Territory in 1809, and Wisconsin Territory in 1836. Indiana gained statehood in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Michigan in 1837, and Wisconsin in 1848. The territorial period for each was marked by political discord, and numerous complaints were made against the rulers the President placed over the territories. Many of these complaints were, in fact, well-founded, but one would hesitate to affirm that any other form of government that could have been devised would have operated better; and always the inhabitants had the consolation of knowing that their period of political dependence was but temporary, and that as soon as they should have the necessary population they would be invested with

the powers and responsibilities of self-government. The Ordinance of 1787 was the common constitution of all the states of the Old Northwest, and it would be difficult to prove that anyone today, endowed with all the knowledge of the actual course of development which the century and a half since 1787 has witnessed, would be able to draft a better one.

We must now note briefly certain matters which are closely associated with the story of the Ordinance of 1787. The cornerstone of our civilization is the institution of private property. Under all else lies the land, and before the Northwest could be settled the government had to provide for the division of the land into suitable tracts, and its sale to individual owners. In 1785 the ordinance creating our national land-survey system was passed, and not long thereafter the survey of the original "Seven Ranges" in southeastern Ohio was begun. Beginning in 1790, the government waged a five-year war in Ohio and Indiana, resulting in the overthrow of the Indian confederacy; and in 1796 the British government withdrew its garrisons, and its *de facto* government, which had continued until then in all the northern two-thirds of the Old Northwest, ceased to exist. In 1812 the region was reconquered by the British, but their rule this time lasted only a year, when it was ended for all time by the gunfire of Commodore Perry's cannon in the Battle of Lake Erie. Meanwhile, by a long series of treaties with the Indians, beginning with Wayne's Treaty of Greenville in 1795, the red man's title to the country was quieted; and hardly had he passed westward toward the sunset when government surveyors swarmed over the land, preparing it for purchase and occupancy by the oncoming tide of white settlers. Just sixty years after the first appearance on the Ohio of the little band of Yankees who founded Marietta, the youngest of the five commonwealths of the Old Northwest, Wisconsin, was admitted to the Union. The red race

gave place to the white; civilization succeeded barbarism; the wilderness was transformed into cultivated fields and thriving cities and towns.

How far in advance of their time were the political ideals of the men who framed the Ordinance, is strikingly evidenced by certain of the articles of compact between the old states and the people who were to settle and develop the new ones. In a single sentence of twenty-eight words, the first of the compact articles guaranteed, forever, complete freedom of religious belief and worship. Probably most Americans accept this precious privilege as they do the air they breathe, without giving any particular thought to its value to them. Yet even today, in many parts of the civilized world, freedom of religious belief and worship is conspicuously lacking.

In other important respects, too, the framers of the Ordinance were far in advance of their age—in advance, even, of that more famous body of legislators which, at Philadelphia in this selfsame year, framed our national constitution. Included in the articles of compact was a provision guaranteeing the sanctity of private contracts—the first appearance of such a guarantee in any charter of government. This was copied into the United States Constitution, where it became the basis of the vast development of private corporations with which we are today familiar. In 1819 the Supreme Court, in the famous Dartmouth College case, carried this guarantee to its logical conclusion by ruling that a charter or franchise is a contract, which, once granted by a state legislature or other governing body, cannot be withdrawn.

Another provision, well in advance of the age, affords us the most notable sentence in the entire document: "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the

means of education shall for ever be encouraged." In 1787 "schools and the means of education" found precious little encouragement over most of the face of the globe. Today, America is dedicated to the ideal of universal education, and nowhere is more liberal encouragement extended to schools and the means of education than in the five states of the Old Northwest. In its original contract with the Ohio Company, Congress agreed to give "perpetually" two townships of land for "the uses of a university." In 1795, with the ink scarcely dry on General Wayne's treaty with the red men at Greenville, the "college townships" were located and surveyed; and in January, 1802, over a year before Ohio became a state, the legislature of the Northwest Territory passed an act establishing a university in the still-infant village of Athens—the first legislative act passed west of the Allegheny Mountains looking to the establishment of an institution of higher education. Today, each of the five states maintains at public expense a great state university, whose faculty is numbered by hundreds, and whose student body is numbered by thousands. From the university, with its professional and graduate schools devoted to the pursuit of every branch of human knowledge, down to the kindergarten, where small children obtain their first systematic instruction about the universe outside their mother's nurseries, ample facilities are afforded for almost every conceivable form of education. In their encouragement of "schools and the means of education" the states of the Old Northwest have long since set an example to the civilized world.

In still another respect the Ordinance expressed a noble ideal, which, unfortunately, was destined not to be realized. At a time when the Indians of the Old Northwest were determined to prevent the Americans from ever entering the country, the Ordinance held out to them the doctrine of the Golden Rule; they should ever be treated with the utmost good faith, their rights and liberties should be respected,

and "laws founded in justice and humanity" should be enacted for preserving peace and friendship with them. Such an ideal, today, if it could be generally realized between nations, would free a war-oppressed world from perhaps the greatest menace which threatens the continued existence of civilized society.

Another compact article, of essential importance to our everyday lives but one of whose origin most people remain ignorant, proclaimed the navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence to be common highways, "forever free" to the people of the United States. It is this guarantee which permits the humblest citizen of our country to freely use and enjoy the rivers and lakes of the Old Northwest, for purposes of recreation and travel; a freedom which, but for this guarantee, would frequently be denied him by individual and corporate owners of real estate.

One final provision demands our attention. In 1787 the institution of human slavery existed in all but one of the states of the Union. But many humane and farsighted men recognized its evils, and one in particular, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, was unwearied in his efforts to abate it. Although Jefferson was not the author of the Ordinance of 1787, it was largely because of his influence that its final article dedicated the Old Northwest—then, of course, the *new* Northwest—to freedom. "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory..." the article began, continuing with certain provisos respecting criminals and fugitives from justice. Several decades were to pass before the soil of the Old Northwest endured its last pollution from the footprints of a slave, but the prohibition proved an effective ban against the widespread expansion of slavery over the Territory, and eventually exterminated it here completely. In doing so, the Ordinance prepared the way for its ultimate extermination in the nation; for when,

in 1861, eleven states organized the Southern Confederacy with the institution of human slavery as its cornerstone, and North and South faced each other on the field of battle during four awful years, it was the exuberant might of the free Northwest, thrown into the scale against the southern battalions, which decided the issue in favor of permanent union and human freedom.

In 1787 our country was a feeble confederacy of less than three million souls, almost all of whom dwelt within two hundred miles of the Atlantic seashore. Today we stretch "from sea to shining sea," and number, by recent census estimate, almost 130,000,000 people. From thirteen original states we have increased to forty-eight, among the most powerful and enlightened of which are the five for whose existence the Ordinance of 1787 is responsible. In these five states dwell 26,000,000 people, over three times as many as now live in New England, and almost as many as live in the eleven states which formerly composed the Southern Confederacy; and one out of every four cities of the United States which in 1930 had a population of 25,000 or over is found in the Old Northwest.

Mere numbers do not mean everything, however, else China and India would be the world's foremost nations. The Old Northwest is today the political and industrial heart of the nation. Ohio long since replaced Virginia as the traditional mother of presidents. In the seventy-five years that have elapsed since 1860, the nation has elected fourteen presidents; five of them have been sons of the eastern states, one of the Pacific coast, and eight have been chosen from the Old Northwest. Although our five states comprise but one-twelfth the land area of the country, they contain one-fifth of its people; and the 26,000,000 who live here are as intelligent, as virile, as prosperous, and as happy, probably, as any like number elsewhere on earth. The time that

has elapsed since 1787 may be spanned by the lives of two elderly men, yet the changes that have been witnessed in the Old Northwest since the first feeble American beginnings made by the forty-eight original settlers of Marietta, would have staggered the imagination of the most brilliant thinker then alive. If Manasseh Cutler, or Nathan Dane, or Rufus Putnam, or any one of the men who prepared the way for the American occupation of the country northwest of the Ohio, could return to earth and survey the contemporary scene, he would perhaps exclaim, like the seer of old, "What hath God wrought?"

SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL MERCHANTS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

By

CHARLES M. THOMAS

A person interested in the development of commerce in the Illinois country during the decade before the American Revolution has no difficulty in finding an abundance of information concerning this trade. An understanding of its volume, nature, difficulties, and general conditions is easily obtained from the documents published in the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library and from the other well-known sources. But even with these abundant sources the experienced historian is often doubtful concerning the relative importance of the various factors that influenced the development of this trade. The trade increased from year to year, but individual traders and companies rose and fell. The explanations of the success or failure may seem to be apparent from the available documents, yet the truly determining factors may be not even hinted at in these documents.

The determining factors in the failure of one company may be significant in their contribution to an understanding of the influence of these factors upon the general development of the country during that period. It is hoped, therefore, that there may be some general utility in the evidence obtained from a careful study of the reasons for the failure of the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan.¹

These Philadelphia merchants were pioneers in the development of English trade with the Illinois country, George Morgan being sent to take charge of the firm's business there.

¹ John Baynton, Samuel Wharton and George Morgan.

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Morgan practically had a monopoly of the English trade with the Illinois country for two years after his arrival in the summer of 1766.² Within six months his firm had £30,000 sterling invested in goods in the Illinois country. These were to be sold or traded for furs at a profit of from 100 to 600 per cent, goods sold to the account of the British government being customarily priced 100 per cent higher.³ George Croghan spent £8,408 on one trip to the Illinois country in 1766, mostly for presents to the Indians from the royal government, for which General Gage had authorized an expenditure of only £3,445. Baynton, Wharton and Morgan received £6,480 of the £8,408 spent, and General Gage approved the bill after some protest.⁴ In addition to this sum, the commissary at Illinois spent £10,742 in twelve months and most of these purchases were from Baynton, Wharton and Morgan.⁵

Some idea of the volume of business may be obtained from such statistics, and with the profits that were possible competition was certain to appear. The illegal trade carried on in the Ohio valley by the French and Spanish from west of the Mississippi was always a threat, but there was only slight competition from other English firms between 1766 and 1768. The firm of David Franks and Company was to supplant Baynton, Wharton and Morgan in the Illinois country between 1768 and 1771. There had been competition between these two firms engaged in the western trade around Pittsburgh for several years, but Franks and his as-

² See letters from George Morgan, in C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The New Régime 1765-1767* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XI, Springfield, 1916), 311 ff.

³ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, June 20, 1768, in C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *Trade and Politics 1767-1769* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVI, Springfield, 1921), 328; Max Savelle, *George Morgan, Colony Builder* (New York, 1932), 32.

⁴ Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement 1741-1782* (Cleveland, 1926), 198-208; cf. Croghan's expense account in Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 511.

⁵ Gage to Johnson, April 4, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 221.

sociates, though the second largest Illinois traders, controlled a very small fraction of the Illinois trade before 1768.⁶

Any adequate study of the Illinois trade must consider separately its three main fields of activity, namely, trade with the Indians, with the white inhabitants and with the British government.

The trade with the Indians was a general disappointment, being far short of expectations. Many French traders moved west of the Mississippi River after 1763 and they, together with the Spanish, drew to St. Louis all the trade from the Missouri River and much of that from the north. The French traders, friendly with the Indians, penetrated the Ohio valley, even going up the Wabash River and taking their furs back down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans.⁷ No practical way could be found to prevent this French trade, and as the French were able to undersell the English, a great part of the Indian trade was lost by the English.

The underselling by the French and Spanish may be traced to the lower cost of transportation through New Orleans and on the Mississippi, as compared to the cost of the journey from Philadelphia through Pittsburgh and on the Ohio River.⁸ The Gratz and Franks associates, coming later and profiting by the experience of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, depended more on the white trade and were able to avoid such losses as the Morgan company suffered due to the unfulfilled anticipations of the Indian trade.⁹ These losses, although disturbing, were not a primary cause of the super-

⁶ William Vincent Byars, *B. and M. Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754-1798* (Jefferson City, Mo., 1916), *passim*. These associates did business under many different partnerships, some organized for single ventures and others being more permanent. Once a cargo of goods was sent to the Illinois country as the separate venture of the Gratz children (*ibid.*, 123), but most of the partnerships were made up from various members of the following list of associates: David Franks, with the firm of Simon, Trent, Levy and Franks; Barnard and Michael Gratz, William Plumsted, William Murray, James Rumsey, and Alexander Ross. Byars untangles some of these partnerships.

⁷ George Croghan to General Gage, January 16, 1767, in Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 491-92.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 192, 362, 368, 476.

⁹ Murray to B. and M. Gratz, April 24, 1769, Byars, *op. cit.*, 93.

MERCHANTS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

seeding of one firm by the other, for there is evidence that as early as 1767 Baynton, Wharton and Morgan had adjusted their business and were devoting most of their time to the white inhabitants.¹⁰ The general loss of Indian trade by the English to the French may be considered as a factor affecting both companies similarly, especially since the earlier Baynton, Wharton and Morgan losses tended to be compensated by the monopoly profits on the early business with the British government in Illinois.

The same conclusion may be reached concerning the effect of the heavy losses suffered by Baynton, Wharton and Morgan in pioneering the Illinois trade,¹¹ losses which the Franks and Gratz associates were able to avoid or reduce. It is true that these losses were large. In one instance an Indian attack caused the loss of two boats and a cargo valued at £3,000, together with the death of all ten men of the crew.¹² A temporary financial stringency, due to a delay in receiving payment for other goods sold to the account of the king, forced Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, a month after the loss of the two boats, to seek an extension of time on their obligations. The audit in connection with this extension clearly revealed the solvent condition of the firm to the satisfaction of its creditors.¹³ It may be assumed, therefore, that the early monopoly prices compensated for these losses.

The trade of the white inhabitants provided these merchant firms in the Illinois country with a second field of activity, a business which was to increase with the years as the Indian trade declined. This trade was with both French and English civilians and with the officers of the garrison.

¹⁰ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, December 16, 1767, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 140.

¹¹ Dobson to Morgan, April 5, 1766, in Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 211; Alexander C. Flick, *Sir William Johnson Papers* (Albany, 1925), IV:710-23.

¹² *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1852), IX:469; Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, December 2, 1767, and July 20, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 127, 357.

¹³ Alvord and Carter: *New Régime*, 387 n. and *Trade and Politics*, 8, 9, 23-24; Savelle, *op. cit.*, 41.

From the beginning, both firms recognized the value of trade with the whites, and each firm swung toward a greater dependence on this trade as time went on, but the Gratz firm depended more upon white trade than did Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. At times, almost all of the business of the Gratz firm was with whites.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the fur trade was still the ultimate foundation of Illinois commerce; as late as 1771 a Gratz associate in the Illinois country wrote to his partners that it would "be impossible to deal and not take peltries."¹⁵

Both of the English firms faced the competition of the French merchants, some of whom had remained east of the Mississippi River. This cut into the trade with French civilians, there being considerable friction between them and all English merchants. This friction was partly the result of preference shown the English merchants by the local military commander who, of course, tried to enforce the order of General Gage declaring all non-English goods contraband, and only the English merchants had English goods. There is evidence, however, that the Gratz firm suffered less from friction with the French natives than did Baynton, Wharton and Morgan.¹⁶ William Murray, the Gratz representative in Illinois, repeatedly emphasized the point that shipments to him should contain more goods for sale to whites and declared that he needed no more Indian goods.¹⁷ In contrast, Baynton, Wharton and Morgan were unfortunate in that Morgan came to be "universally hated by all" the French inhabitants. Colonel Wilkins, the local military commander, finally ordered a court of inquiry to be held to settle disputes between Morgan and the French people, but

¹⁴ See list of sales made by the Gratz firm, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 642-45.

¹⁵ James Rumsey to B. and M. Gratz, January 26, 1771, in Byars, *op. cit.*, 116.

¹⁶ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, April 5, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 224; Buttrick to Barnsley, February 12, 1769, *ibid.*, 497.

¹⁷ William Murray to B. and M. Gratz, April 24, 1769, in Byars, *op. cit.*, 93.

the French were not able to prove a single charge of those they brought against Morgan.¹⁸

This loss of the good will of the French inhabitants cost Baynton, Wharton and Morgan dearly and was to make them more dependent on the Indian trade and the trade to the account of the king. This increased the seriousness of their overstocking of costly goods, many of which were to be unsalable. This overstocking has been considered to have been a primary reason for the failure of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan in the Illinois trade.¹⁹ The evidence seems to indicate, however, that the importance of this factor has been much overemphasized. The facts are that when Baynton, Wharton and Morgan withdrew from the Illinois trade in 1771 they sold their stock on hand to the Gratz firm. The Gratz firm bought these goods to the value of £9,855 but rejected other goods in the Baynton, Wharton and Morgan stock worth £1,027.²⁰ The rejected goods were evidently the unsalable ones, and the others which the Gratz firm was willing to buy represented over ninety per cent of the total stock on hand in 1771. Even a much larger overstocking of unsalable goods would not have been serious considering the large volume of the Baynton, Wharton and Morgan trade and the profits indicated by the statistics quoted earlier in this paper. The most that can be said is that this overstocking may have been a contributing cause for their withdrawal from Illinois after their other disasters.

The determining factors in the superseding of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan by the Franks and Gratz associates are to be found in the third main field of commercial activity in Illinois enumerated above, namely, the business with the British government. Statistics have been cited to indicate the volume and profitableness of this business. Sales to the

¹⁸ Butricke to Barnsley, February 12, 1769, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 497.

¹⁹ Byars, *op. cit.*, 120n.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 118, 120n.

account of the government in the early years accounted for the greater portion of the total business of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan in Illinois; the profit on this business was far more than on ordinary sales, and the final loss of these contracts to the Franks firm in 1768 was the major disaster in Morgan's whole Illinois venture.

There were two kinds of business transactions between the British merchants in Illinois and the government. The contract for providing provisions for the garrison certainly was lucrative, but sales of Indian goods to the government often provided a profit of more than 200 per cent. These Indian goods were to be used as presents by the Indian agents and were an indispensable part of every conference between the Indians and the royal officials. The value of such presents at a major conference could easily exceed £5,000, and there was an astonishing cumulative expenditure for goods going to individual groups of Indians who visited the fort. These visits by Indians seem to have been very frequent. The explanation is not hard to understand when a check is made of the list of deliveries of Indian goods by Baynton, Wharton and Morgan on separate days to the order of the king's agent. On 7 days in August and September, 1766, the total deliveries were 92 shirts, 104 pairs of leggings, 84 breech clouts, 121 kettles, 20 pounds of paint, 180 pounds of powder, 440 pounds of ball, 59 gallons of rum, 20¼ pounds of brass wire, 1,040 flints, 20 strouds, 7 tomahawks, 10 fuzees, 22 match coats, 2 pieces match coating, 10 m. wampum and 1 pound of thread. The appearance of 8 Indians at the fort apparently meant the delivery of 8 shirts, 8 pairs of leggings, 8 breech clouts, and varying amounts of the other articles.²¹

The Indian agents such as George Croghan and Sir William Johnson thought of Indian relations primarily in terms of their political significance.²² Consequently, they sought the

²¹ Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 391-94.

²² Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 148-49.

extension of the fur trade even where profits were small. Croghan felt there was ample reason for keeping the Illinois country even at a direct financial loss if Indian wars on the frontier of the eastern colonies could be prevented by such action.²³ Some English statesmen, however, could not see the wisdom of keeping the country if it cost more than the fur trade yielded, and they were disturbed at the large expenditures involved in the conduct of Indian affairs. With the failure of the Stamp Act they saw the impossibility of any plan to finance these expenditures by a tax on furs.²⁴ Considerations such as these were instrumental in bringing, in 1768, the general change in the policy of the British government for the regulation of Indian affairs. The decision was to transfer the regulation of Indian trade back to the colonial governments, where it had been before the outbreak of the French and Indian War, but the Indian Department was to retain control of the more clearly political relations with the Indians.²⁵

The commissary in the Illinois country was removed in March, 1769, under orders issued in accordance with the new policy,²⁶ and with it went one of the most profitable sources of trade. The loss was more disastrous to Baynton, Wharton and Morgan than to the Franks and Gratz associates since the latter firm was specializing more in trade with the whites. The Morgan firm had depended upon the great profits from the trade with the royal agents to offset losses and could not expect to gain enough additional white trade to compensate for the loss of this business. The antagonism between Morgan and the French inhabitants precluded such hopes.

²³ Croghan to B. Franklin, January 27, 1767, in Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 500-503.

²⁴ General Gage to Hillsborough, June 16, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 316-18; Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 205; Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period, 1763-1765 (Illinois Historical Collections, X, Springfield, 1915)*, 280.

²⁵ Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 225-27.

²⁶ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, April 24, 1769, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 516, 528.

Baynton, Wharton and Morgan were able to establish most friendly relations with the royal officials in the Illinois country, including George Croghan, the deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, Colonel Cole, the commissary, Colonel Wilkins, the commander, and Captain Forbes, the commander, *ad interim*, between the terms of Colonel Reed and Colonel Wilkins.²⁷ Friction later developed between Morgan and Colonel Wilkins, owing partly to Morgan's activities in political affairs in Illinois. At first, however, these relations were so friendly in some cases that Morgan could report he was treated like a brother. The officials named above showed a marked partiality for the goods of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. There is evidence that some of these royal officials reaped personal pecuniary profit from this friendship, but it is certain that the Morgan firm consistently charged 100 per cent extra for goods sold to the royal account.²⁸

The change in the Indian policy of the British government, in 1768, terminated the profitable business between Baynton, Wharton and Morgan and the commissary. Morgan was not so fortunate in some of his other relations. The friction between Morgan and the French inhabitants has already been discussed. Morgan's irascible temper at times led him into situations which may be illustrated by the instance in which he struck Captain Prather on the nose with his fist so hard that from the nose "such a Fountain of Matter immediately issued as to defile the Linnen of several of the Standers by."²⁹

The contract for furnishing provisions for the garrison was a prize comparable in value to the profits possible from the sale of Indian goods to the agents of the royal government.

²⁷ Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 190-280; Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, December 2, 1767, December 10, 1767, June 20, 1768, April 24, 1769, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 126, 129-30, 328, 528; Savelle, *op. cit.*, 18 ff.

²⁸ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, June 20, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 328; Savelle, *op. cit.*, 37, 66.

²⁹ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, July 20, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 363-65.

Baynton, Wharton and Morgan succeeded in furnishing these provisions much of the time during their early years in Illinois.³⁰ Morgan's relations with Colonel Reed having become very strained, he lost this contract for the period between December, 1767 and June, 1768. The contract was let to Daniel Bloüin, a Frenchman, who proved less able to supply the garrison. It is possible that Bloüin got the contract by overbidding Morgan in offering bribes to Colonel Reed.³¹ After Colonel Reed was succeeded as commander at Fort Chartres by Colonel Wilkins, Morgan again began supplying provisions, but under a week to week arrangement, since Colonel Wilkins did not have authority to make another contract.³²

Baynton, Wharton and Morgan had begun negotiations as early as January, 1767, seeking to obtain from London a permanent contract for supplying provisions to the garrison at Fort Chartres.³³ This contract was finally awarded to Franks and Company in 1768 under very strange circumstances. The profits from a definite contract for furnishing provisions to Fort Chartres were alone enough to assure the success of either company in its whole Illinois trade. The gaining of this business was the greatest factor in enabling the Franks firm to supersede Baynton, Wharton and Morgan in the Illinois trade.

Baynton, Wharton and Morgan offered to furnish rations delivered at Fort Chartres for 12 *d.* sterling per ration. The contract was awarded to certain London merchants and David Franks at 13½ *d.* per ration.³⁴ There is no doubt that the Morgan firm was best prepared to supply the provisions. In fact, the Franks firm found it necessary to subcontract

³⁰ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, April 5, 1768, *ibid.*, 223.

³¹ Alvord and Carter, *ibid.*, xiv, 126, 129.

³² Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, June 20, 1768, *ibid.*, 328, 511.

³³ Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, Proposals to General Gage, January 5, 1767, in Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 471-72.

³⁴ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, July 11, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 347; Gage to Wilkins, March 24, 1769, *ibid.*, 511.

temporarily with Morgan to furnish certain provisions in October, 1768, but refused to subcontract the business permanently even though Morgan proposed terms that would have meant considerable profit for Franks and Company.³⁵ The Morgan firm had expected to make an annual profit of £3,000 on their offer at 12 *d.*,³⁶ and since this was 33⅓ per cent, the profit at 13½ *d.* would have exceeded £4,000 per year. There is, of course, a remote possibility that the British government may have considered it worth the extra cost to establish another firm in the Illinois country and break the near monopoly still held by Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. If so, they failed in their purpose, for the result was merely the replacement of one near monopoly by another; the Morgan firm soon had to withdraw from the Illinois and leave the Franks firm almost without competition.

A far more plausible explanation of the action of the British government is that the Franks firm had better friends at court or offered a higher bribe to influential persons. The Baynton, Wharton and Morgan offer was one-seventh of the profits, or approximately £400 per year, as a bribe to Macleane, the undersecretary to Lord Shelburne. Macleane refused the bribe but urged the acceptance of the Baynton, Wharton and Morgan proposals because they were evidently preferable to any other and meant a saving of fifty per cent over the old contract, which called for delivery of the provisions at Fort Pitt at 9½ *d.* per ration.³⁷

The determining factors, then, in the superseding of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan by the Franks and Gratz associates in the trade with the Illinois country would seem to be as follows, listed approximately in the order of their importance. Certainly first in importance was the contract for

³⁵ Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, October 30, 1768, in Alvord and Carter, *ibid.*, 444; Colonel Reed to [Colonel Wilkins?], June 6, 1769, *ibid.*, 544.

³⁶ Macleane to Shelburne, in Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 478-79.

³⁷ Baynton, Wharton and Morgan to Macleane, January 9, 1767, in Alvord and Carter, *ibid.*, 473-76.

supplying provisions to Fort Chartres, awarded to Franks and Company, probably through influence in London. The profits on this one item were expected to be sufficient to yield an annual return equal to almost ten per cent of the total investment in all branches of the Illinois trade by the largest company doing business there.³⁸ Second in importance was the change in the British policy for the control of Indian affairs in 1768, which ended the very profitable business of supplying Indian goods to the royal commissary. This was more disastrous to Baynton, Wharton and Morgan than to the Franks and Gratz associates because the latter had specialized more in trade with the whites. The personal characteristics and political activities of Morgan, the only agent for his firm in Illinois, were such as to antagonize many persons, and made it difficult for his firm to gain additional trade with the French inhabitants. An overstocking of certain costly but unsalable goods by Baynton, Wharton and Morgan may have been a contributing factor, but the evidence would seem to indicate that the profits to be anticipated on the provisioning contract in one year would exceed threefold the total capital tied up in such unsalable goods. The competition of the French and Spanish traders from west of the Mississippi River, trading with both whites and Indians, was also important and contributed to the general decline of the British trade with the Indians, but this competition affected both companies to a relatively equal extent.

³⁸ An approach to accuracy in these comparative calculations is possible only through an understanding of the various monetary systems used in sources dealing with the Illinois trade. Savelle (*op. cit.*, 33) contributes evidence from the Baynton, Wharton and Morgan manuscripts which is most useful in clearing the confusion which results from an indiscriminate use of the £ symbol to refer to sterling, Pennsylvania and New York currency. These varied in value as much as seventy per cent.

WITH GRANT AT VICKSBURG

From the Civil War Diary of Captain Charles E. Wilcox

Edited By

EDGAR L. ERICKSON

INTRODUCTION

Charles Edwards Wilcox was born in Edwards County, New York, in 1839. His parents, of New England stock, were Henry and Nancy Kimball Wilcox. Charles was the fourth son in the family of six children, who in order of birth were Roswell, Abel, Turner, Charles, Maria and Sarah. He was brought to Lake County, Illinois, in 1843, when his father joined the stream of westward migration moving to that section of the state and purchased a farm near Diamond Lake. In Lake County, Charles spent his youth. Farming held little attraction for him, and at the age of eighteen, after having attended an academy in Waukegan, he became a teacher.

From his diary one learns that he practiced that profession for three years before he entered college. His first teaching post was in Livingston County, in or near Long Point. Nothing further is known about his experiences there. In 1858 he moved to Franklin in Morgan County, where for the next two years he taught in a one-room rural school. The average number of pupils under his charge seems to have been about thirty. The school term lasted six months and his remuneration was at the rate of six cents per day per pupil. When school was not in session, he worked in the general store of Abram C. Woods. In 1860, he thought seriously of going into business, but the unfavorable economic conditions which

prevailed at that time caused him to enter college instead. He was influenced in making his decision by Simeon Wright of Kinmundy, Illinois, who was closely connected with the Illinois State Normal University. He had met Wright when the latter came to Franklin to address the local teachers' association.

The diarist's career at the Illinois State Normal University was limited to one year. That year, in many respects, was the most important one of his long life, for during this period he met Abbie Ripley Reynolds, of Griggsville, the young lady who, before the Civil War terminated, was to become his wife. At Normal, too, he took an active part in the affairs of the Wroughtonian Literary Society, and many life-long friendships were formed with members of the society. Wilcox never completed his college training because he answered President Lincoln's call for volunteers to save the Union instead.

Patriotism was intense among the students and faculty at Normal. Under the leadership of President Charles E. Hovey, a Normal regiment was formed during the summer of 1861. In September of that year, the regiment was mustered into the United States Army at Camp Butler, near Springfield, as the Thirty-third Illinois Regiment of Infantry Volunteers under the command of Colonel Hovey. Wilcox was a corporal in Company A. In the latter part of September the regiment moved to Ironton, Missouri, where it constructed Fort Hovey, and where, except for temporary expeditions, it remained stationed until the spring of 1863, when it moved southward to participate in the Vicksburg campaign.

Prior to the 1863 activities at Vicksburg, the Thirty-third Illinois did not participate in any campaigns which resulted in particularly heavy fighting. During the month of October, 1861, the regiment shared in a victory over Jeff Thomp-

son at Fredericktown, Missouri. In March, 1862, it marched southward via Batesville, Arkansas, as a part of Brigadier General Steele's first division of the Army of the Southwest, to Helena, Arkansas. En route it fought, on July 7, a successful engagement with the Texas Rangers at Cache River, Arkansas. At Helena, the regiment became actively employed during the summer and fall of 1862, foraging cotton in Mississippi and Arkansas. While thus employed, spirited fighting such as took place at Drysdale's Plantation on August 4, and at Friar's Point on September 28, often occurred. Upon the regiment's return to Missouri in October, it was assigned the duty of escorting supply trains through the muck and mire of Missouri for Brigadier General Davidson's army, which was fruitlessly chasing guerrillas in the southeastern part of the state. This type of service continued until the spring of 1863, when most of the forces stationed at Ironton moved south to Vicksburg.

Throughout the period required for the above activities, Wilcox remained with his regiment. As a reward for faithful service he was promoted to the rank of sergeant, and then to that of sergeant major. The latter rank was a recognition of his ability as a penman. As sergeant major he was stationed at regimental headquarters, and from this vantage point he was able to learn more accurately the news of war movements. To one so persistent in recording in a diary what was happening from day to day, the latter promotion was of considerable importance. Ultimately he was to become a captain. Major Potter, of the Thirty-third, led Wilcox to believe that a captaincy would be available for him in that regiment; but when the promotion was not forthcoming after the capture of Vicksburg, he secured his discharge from the regiment so as to accept the captaincy, dated September 21, 1863, of Company B, Ninety-second United States Colored Infantry. He remained with the colored

regiment in Louisiana until August, 1865, when he was placed on detached service so as to take charge of the Bragg Home Colony for Freedmen at Thibodaux, Louisiana, under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau. With him at Bragg's plantation were his young wife, whom he had traveled north to marry in June, 1864, and an infant daughter.

Two factors were dominant in shaping the postwar career of the diarist. One was the permanent ill health caused by a sunstroke suffered during his military service in Louisiana, and the other was the deep conviction that God was calling him to enter the ministry. The first made it impossible for him to become a farmer, and the second operated to his detriment in various business undertakings. After his discharge from the army, Wilcox did undertake, with considerable success, vegetable and fruit farming in Wyandotte, Kansas, near Kansas City; but the recurrence of severe sunstroke head pains eventually forced him to seek another business. After a period of convalescence, he sold his Kansas land and moved to Northfield, Minnesota, where he was instrumental in establishing a weekly prohibition newspaper, the *Northfield Independent*. The venture was not particularly successful and he finally sold his interest in the paper to become the manager of the electric light plant at Vinton, Iowa, which had become his property when a debtor failed to repay a loan made by Wilcox for its original purchase. In the light plant he invested the balance of his capital, and when the town decided to build a municipal plant, Wilcox lost the greater part of his investment. Failure in the last two of these ventures was in a large measure attributable to his failure to divorce religion from business.

With his hopes of business success shattered, Wilcox in 1896 entered the Congregational ministry. As a soldier, farmer, editor, and public utility operator, he had persistently manifested a passion for religious work. For seven

years he traveled his circuit preaching the gospel, first in Iowa, then in southern Minnesota, and finally in the iron country of northern Minnesota. His health again failed him, and after securing a restoration of full pension—for the government had previously reduced the pension upon his request—he repaired to the mild climate of Florahome, Florida, where he divided his time between fruit farming and preaching. After spending ten years in Florida, Wilcox moved to Spokane, Washington. Eighteen years of his life remained. He continued to preach and farm in Washington until complete blindness and deafness rendered him all but helpless. Despite these blighting handicaps, he retained a cheerful disposition until his death in 1931 at the age of ninety-three. A son and two daughters survive him: Guy Maurice Wilcox, emeritus professor of physics at Armour Institute, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Ethel Wilcox Bonser, Spokane, Washington; and Myrtle Vella Wilcox, who for the past thirty years has served as a Presbyterian missionary in China.

The Wilcox diary, with the exception of four major and a few minor lacunae caused by the loss of the original manuscript, covers the period between April 30, 1860 and August 30, 1863. Because of the limited space allotted for the publication of the diary, only the portion of it which relates the experiences of Wilcox immediately preceding, during, and immediately following the Vicksburg campaign is herein published.

Considering the obstacles that were encountered by a soldier who endeavored to keep a diary, that kept by Wilcox may be considered a commendable achievement. His desk in regimental headquarters, the hayloft, the rear of the battlefield, the deck of a river boat, beside the campfire, the supply wagon, and the guard post were some of the typical locations where the diarist jotted down the daily happen-

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ings in order that the "folks" back home might learn what had occurred. When a quantity of the diary had accumulated, he mailed it to Persis Wilcox, wife of his brother Roswell, and he then began a new section or book.

The diary was recorded in ink on sheets of white paper of uniform size. Each sheet was folded so as to make four pages, five and one-fourth by seven and seven-eighths inches in size. In making the entries, Wilcox took liberties commonly taken by diarists. Events were recorded as he recalled them without much attention to logic, sequence and syntax; he was guilty of frequent errors in spelling—due more often than not to carelessness—and punctuation.*

The diary is that of a common soldier and noncommissioned officer rather than that of an officer of commissioned rank, for Wilcox did not receive his captaincy until after the date at which the diary ends. As a consequence, the significance of the diary is based upon the light it throws on army life rather than upon its revelations of military movements. It contains a very human story of the experiences of an alert, God-fearing, and patriotic young soldier who had complete confidence in the ultimate success of the Union armies.

DIARY

Saturday, 14th [March, 1863]—Our Colonel¹ came down from St. Louis last night. He says there is now no prospect of us going on gunboats, but that we have orders to go down the river, starting to-morrow, and will probably go past Vicksburg via Lake Providence.² The boats to take us are expected down to-night. Received a letter from M. J

* These failings are not too numerous, however, to prevent publication of the diary in its original form.

¹ Col. Charles E. Lippincott of Chandlerville, Ill.

² A water route which followed the course of Lake Providence, the Tensas and Macon bayous, and the Black and Red rivers to the Mississippi was then under consideration by engineers but it was not used. See *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington D. C., 1889), 1 ser., XXIV, pt. I: 14-16, 20.

Brown. Through it I learn that Major Potter³ and his wife are at Bloomington. Detailed for, and went on, guard at the Steamboat Landing at eleven A.M. Weather very fine—too warm to wear a coat—a little windy. Replied to M. J. Brown's letter, and wrote a letter of thanks to a friend whose picture I received the other day.

Sunday, [March] 15th—Received yesterday's St. Louis papers at midnight last night. Several boats passed. The *White Rose* came down this morning and was loaded this afternoon with a part of the 11th Wisconsin Inft. The *Illinois* came down this afternoon and it is this evening being loaded with the 99th Ill. Inft. All of our teams save those belonging to the ambulances are being turned over; the wagons go with the teams to Pilot Knob. Our Sibley tents are condemned and we drew, to-day, wage tents. Drew ten days' rations—full rations of everything. Relieved from guard at nine A. M. We guards were serenaded last evening by a captain and two lieutenants, all from the 8th Indiana Inft. They played two violins and a banjo and sang for us, all very much to our great pleasure. Chaplain Eddy preached this morning. I attended. Washed and cleaned up ready for the trip adown the river. We now expect to leave at any hour. Had inspection this evening; we also had inspection last evening. Wrote a letter to C. A. Stewart in reply to one of the 16th Jan. Exciting news from below. Confirmation of the capture of 7000 prisoners at Yazoo City.⁴ Vicksburg is being evacuated by the rebels. Weather very pleasant—disagreeably warm.

Monday, [March] 16th—Reveille at five this morning. Our regiment with six companies of the 11th Wis. Inft., and a battery of artillery loaded ourselves and baggage on the boat *Illinois*, this forenoon. We left St. Genevieve at half

³ Maj. Leander H. Potter of Bloomington, Ill.; a teacher at Normal University.

⁴ A false report; the Yazoo campaign of March, 1863, failed.

past twelve and steamed down the river. Before I got aboard I wrote a note to sister Sarah letting her know of our expected movement. This is a large boat, built purpose for carrying freight. She is well loaded having on about 1300 tons* burden. The weather is very pleasant and the ride a jolly one for soldiers. We passed Kaskaskia, Chester, and Greeceville, (all Illinois places,) and also, Lone Rock, the celebrated conical island. We "tied up" at a little town on the Missouri side at half past six this evening. We have come about 60 miles this afternoon. Read in The Continental Monthly.

*This is the statement of a man belonging with the boat.

Tuesday, [March] 17th—"Let loose" at six this morning. Wrote a letter to Maria and mailed it at Cairo. Arrived at Cairo at about three P. M. where we cooled and laid till ten this evening. All of us had a chance to go ashore *to see*, and get things. To-day's paper indicates great activity among our generals and among the rebels in the West.⁵ A great many of our regiment and the 11th got drunk while at Cairo. 'Twas shameful, for within a half hour after the boys began to go ashore there were no less than a hundred, out of the eleven hundred on the boat, who were drunk.

As we neared Cairo, coming down, we saw plainly what effect the high water in the Ohio has upon the Mississippi. Ten miles above Cairo the water in the Mississippi did not fill the banks but five miles above, it overflowed the banks, and at Cairo, although not over the levee, the Mississippi, also the Ohio, looks like one lake of no small magnitude. Now, the water of the latter is more muddy than that of the Mississippi, while, during low water in both, it is the contrary. I think this is a general rule. During low water the water of the Ohio comes mainly from springs. The weather is very pleasant and quite warm.

⁵ This probably refers to the Yazoo campaign.

Wednesday, [March] 18th—Leaving Cairo at ten last night we run all night, passing island No. 10, and New Madrid. To-day's ride has brought us where Spring has truly come, for we see peach trees in blossom and the earliest trees leaved out. We saw many places where the water was over the country, carrying away fences, wood, &c. Got to Fort Pillow at five this P. M. where we wooded and had a very good view of the fortifications. The weather is pleasant and warm—indications of rain this morning.

Thursday, [March] 19th—Leaving Fort Pillow at nine last night, we came on down, arriving at Memphis, Tenn., at about three this morning where we are now, (9 A. M.). On account of so much drunkenness at Cairo very few of the boys can go ashore here. Gen. Carr and all of our Brigade is here. Gen. Ellet's Marine Brigade is here on its boats, the *Autocrat* (flag boat), *Baltic*, *Diana*, and *J. H. Ada*. It is very probable that we don't disembark here.

Thurs. 9 a. m., [March] 19th—Wrote a note sending it with diary to Sarah. Visited the 32nd, 15th and 14th, Illinois regiments, seeing the following friends or acquaintances of mine, . . . The visit was a very pleasant one.

Weather pleasant but warm.

Friday, [March] 20th—Wrote to sister Persis. Saw my old schoolmates Ed. Willis and Keagle,⁶ passing most of the day with the former. Weather clear and pleasant until just at night when it became cloudy indicating rain.

Saturday, [March] 21st—Received a letter from Sarah and one from Persis. Read in De Quincy's writings and in The Continental Monthly besides the dailies and other papers. Am still on the boat, Illinois, which has lain just under Fort Pickering since Wednesday afternoon. Was about the Fort and the fortifications.

⁶ James E. Willis and A. B. Keagle, Normal University schoolmates.

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Weather warm: cloudy but no rain yet. The river is falling slowly at this place. Other Normals came to see us.

Sunday, [March] 22nd—Was “up town,” carrying mail. Called upon the Leake [Lake] Co. boys who are in the 15th Ill. Regt.

Rained a little this morning. Warm and cloudy in the forenoon, and very pleasant this afternoon. “Steamed up” this afternoon and left the coal landing under the Fort at three P. M. We are going down the river.

Monday, [March] 23—Arrived at Helena at about 12 last night; are here now. Drew rations and coaled. All of the 11th Wis got aboard of the steamer Sunshine. Our regiment and a battery are now all the troops on the *Illinois*. Wrote a letter to Sarah last night and this morning, mailing the same this morning. Helena is now partly inundated. There is one Division of troops here in camp—our Division is here on boats. Six miles below here is Gen. Smith’s⁷ Division which is preparing to go through the Yazoo Pass. According to the best information I can get the boats leave the Mississippi to go through the Pass about six miles below this place. Rained nearly all day—cold and disagreeable just at night. On account of two transports loaded with provisions sinking near Greenwood our force that was there started to return to this place, but Gen. Qu[i]nby’s Division meeting them and he having a supply of provisions they “about faced” and are now with Quinby’s Division on their way to reduce the rebels’ position at Greenwood.⁸

Tuesday, [March] 24th—“Tied up” on the Mississippi shore, opposite of Helena, just at dark last night where we

⁷ Brig. Gen. John E. Smith.

⁸ This information pertains to the well known Yazoo Pass expedition of March, 1863, by which Grant hoped to gain a position on the high ground in the rear of Vicksburg. The expedition went through Yazoo Pass to the Coldwater River and then on to the Tallahatchie River, with the intention of entering the Yazoo River near Greenwood. The Confederates prevented the execution of the last phase of this plan by erecting Fort Pemberton near Greenwood. This fort had not been reduced when Grant abandoned the campaign late in March.

remained till nearly to-day noon waiting for us to do some cooking. Received a small mail and Cincinnati papers of the 21st inst. One of the deck hands (an Irishman) belonging to this boat was drowned this afternoon just before we left for Vicksburg. He was helping throw out a plank when we landed and the wind blowing and the boats being slippery he slipped overboard. His body was not found until our boat "swung off." We did not turn back to learn whether he was dead or not, although a few soldiers who belonged to another boat picked up the body and halloed to us saying, "he is not dead."

We left Helena about three this afternoon, and passed the Yazoo Pass, Craig's Landing and Old Town (the two latter places where we were in camp last summer) before dark. Where we camped last summer it is now entirely overflowed. The graves of our comrades whom we buried last August and September are several feet under water.

Weather windy and cloudy—cool.

Wednesday, [March] 25th—At about twelve last night we landed for a few minutes at the mouth of the White river where an inspecting officer came on board to see if we had any citizens or contraband goods on board. Passed some very large and fine plantations. Weather warm and very pleasant. The trees along the shores are nearly wholly leaved out. All vegetation is green. Arrived at a little above Providence, La., where Gen. Logan's Division was in camp, at one this P. M. We there saw W. Gunn, P. Clarke, L. H. Root, D. Puffer, and E. Philbrook, all old Normals. Leaving this place we came on down, passing Providence, and tied up, just at sunset, on the Louisiana shore seven miles, by land, from Providence. We expect to disembark here in the morning. The Lake Providence Canal was cut through the main street in the village of Providence, so our boats now run through the *main street* of Providence. I have heard that

there was other places as good where the canal might have been dug, but as the place was a contemptible secession "hole" our officers thought it best to rent the town in twain and thereby frustrate Providence. Wrote, this evening, most of a letter to sister Persis. Weather very pleasant.

Thursday, [March] 26th—Gen. Carr and staff arrived this morning from above. We had nearly disembarked when he came, but as he had orders for us to go to Millikins' Bend and there disembark, we reloaded what we had unloaded from the boats, and at noon we steamed out for that place and arrived at it where we are now (evening) on the boats, at four P. M. We are tied up on the Louisiana shore, five miles above Millikinsville. Major Generals McClelland's and McPherson's Divisions are in camp just below us. The latter's Division was reviewed this afternoon by the commandant. Gen. U. S. Grant, the commander of all the forces opperrating against Vicksburg, is now at Young's Point a few (about five) miles above Vicksburg, on the Louisiana shore. The most of our fleet is up Yazoo river ready to co-operate with the Yazoo Pass Expedition in an attack upon Haines Bluff. The work upon the canal just opposite of Vicksburg is progressing slowly, we being able, on account of the rebels' shelling, to work only of nights.⁹ Three hundred negroes are employed upon it besides the two *dreges* and a detail of soldiers. Several of Faragut's gunboats are just below Vicksburg. Madam Rumor is very busy in camp here bringing news from Young's Point. She says that Vicksburg was being evacuated yesterday and that the (U. S) ram, Lancaster¹⁰ was sunk last night by the rebels' firing at her while she was trying to run the gauntlet to get to Fara-

⁹ A canal was dug across the point opposite Vicksburg to make possible a river passage sufficiently removed from that city to escape close-range fire of Confederate batteries. The river broke through the northern barrier on March 7, 1863, and flooded the canal before it had been sufficiently deepened, and since the current of the water diverted from the river did not deepen the channel, the canal was suitable for use by only small craft. Long-range Confederate guns made the canal impracticable; see *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXIV, pt. I: 19-20, 64.

¹⁰ The *Lancaster* was sunk by Vicksburg batteries, March 25, 1863.

gut's fleet. Weather fine. Roses and other flowers are in bloom here. Saw some very fine bouquets and regaled myself upon their delicious perfume, the soul of all flowers. How refreshing to breathe the scent of the new blown rose whose language, to the scholar, is Love, the source of all earthly happiness and the better part of God Who "is Love."

Friday, [March] 27th—Disembarked this morning and went into camp a half mile from the river, on Louisiana soil, and five miles above Millikinville. Have a good camping ground excepting that the ground is a little low though quite dry now. The water we use is tolerably good though not as good as the river water. The rams Lancaster and Switzerland started to run the batteries of Vicksburg yesterday morning at sunrise; the former was sunk the latter succeeded though it was somewhat disabled. Wrote to Sarah and finished a letter to sister Persis. Was offered the Sergeant-Majorship of our regiment. Don't think I'll accept it as I don't want to leave the company and then I don't like to be immediately under our present Adjutant. Had a frank and confidential conversation with Capt. Burnham.¹¹ He disclosed some startling things, among which was that he had tendered his resignation. Weather cloudy—indications of rain. Agreeably warm.

Saturday, [March] 28th—Wrote to Miss R. Hastings and sent diary to father with other letters going North. Washed. Capt. Burnham's resignation was accepted on the 17th inst; we got notice to-day, and he officially announced that his connection with the company was "dissolved." The company is sorry to lose him just at this juncture. Ill health is his alleged reason for resigning. He is now sorry as well as us that his resignation was accepted. The Sergeant-Majorship has been warmly discussed to-day and it has again been tendered me, though not officially. Cloudy—threatened to

¹¹ Capt. J. Howard Burnham of Bloomington, Ill.; a teacher at Normal University.

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rain—sprinkled some—raining this evening. A good deal of wire-working about the Sergeant-Majorship—many pulling the wires for me and others pulling them against me.

Sunday, [March] 29th—A bad rain storm last night the wind blowing very hard and blowing down many tents. A good many of our regiment were driven out of their tents by the water, our mess being among the unlucky lot. After holding our tent from blowing away for nearly two hours, we put a pile of rails in the tent and making our beds on them, so the blankets were out of the water, we quietly lay down on our beds which were very wet. Worked nearly all day in "*fixing up*" our quarters so we could be out of the water. Weather cold. Have a good fire in our tent. Was appointed on a committee of three to draft resolutions expressing a sense of the company's feeling upon Captain Burnham's leaving us. Help get up the resolutions this evening.

Monday, [March] 30th—Times dull. Plenty to eat. Resumed Battalion drill. Gen. C. E. Hovey called upon his acquaintances in our regiment. Weather disagreeably cool—cloudy and windy. Our mess has an excellent cook and upon the whole we are best prepared to enjoy camp life that we have been since we became soldiers. The five sergeants of our company are in one tent by ourselves. Caught a bad cold.

Tuesday, [March] 31st—Battalion drill this afternoon. The company presented Captain Burnham with the resolutions it adopted yesterday. The captain addressed us afterward. Gen. C. E. Hovey visited us and explained to us the manner of the attacks up on Vicksburg last January and upon Arkansas Post.

Think that the General has not at all disgraced himself since he left us. Received the Sergeant-Majorship, and began my new labors. Weather cool but pleasant—windy.

Wednesday, April, 1st [1863]—After treating on the new position that I hold and joking for sometime about the affair, I went to bed last night with not any too pleasant feelings. Copied orders and made out reports, writing all the day long excepting when I was making details and on Brigade Review. Felt very queer when on review as I had no gun, accoutrements, or knapsack, but a sword and sash, to carry. I must have appeared very odd and awkward. Like to do the writing that I have to do—'tis a pleasure. Have not began to take care of my horse yet. Order issued detaching and promoting the writer.

Weather cool but pleasant—nights uncomfortably cool. Capt. Burnham left us. Being in the position which I now hold I have an opportunity to become acquainted with business affairs, and to know all the very latest news received, and the advantage of being in contact with superior minds. Taking into consideration these things the position is better than that of a Lieutenantcy.

Thursday, [April] 2nd—Wrote a letter to Sarah and mailed the same. Had Battalion drill. Am a little out of humor to-night—perhaps I learned too much about how my predecessor was treated by certain ones who are immediately over me. Had Dress-Parade.

Friday, [April] 3d—Got news late last night that Major-General Steele's Division is now on its way to reinforce Rosecrans, it having left Young's Point yesterday.¹² Gen. C. E. Hovey goes as he has a Brigade in that Division. Received a large mail; got a letter from sister May; one from Kitty and Mrs. Morey; one from L. Curtis¹³ & one from A. R. Reynolds. Wrote a reply to sister May's.¹⁴ Had Brigade and Battalion drill and Dress-Parade—was on all. Had regular regi-

¹² Rosecrans was campaigning in northern Mississippi and in Tennessee.

¹³ The Moreys were neighbors of the diarist's parents in Lake County; Lucy Curtis was a Normal University acquaintance.

¹⁴ Probably his sister Maria.

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mental guard mounting. Wrote a great deal. Began to take care of my horse. Weather very pleasant—a slight wind. Some indications of rain. Got my Warrant in the new position. Dislike the habits of some of the men at these Head Quarters.

Saturday, [April] 4th—Wrote a letter this evening to A. R. Reynolds, and also a letter to the Sergt.-Major of the 18th Ill. Infy. Had Dress-Parade and drill. Had but little work to do. Am studying the Tactics. Weather pleasant—rather warm.

Sunday, [April] 5th—Duties light. Attended *preaching* this morning. Took a pleasure ride on horse-back. Received the daily of the 30th ult yesterday. Read in the Bible as usual. Weather pleasant—indications of a storm.

Monday, [April] 6th—Received orders to leave camp at eigh o'clock this A. M. with six days rations and go to work on a new canal which leaves the Mississippi river just opposite of the mouth of the Yazoo river, and, running directly west $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles it then connects with Walnut Lake or Walnut Bayou. This bayou connects with Brush Bayou, and thence with Round-a-way Bayou which connects with the Tensas river and Red river. Walnut Bayou used to, and can now be easily made to, connect with the Mississippi by a very much shorter route which would terminate near Warrenton, on the Mississippi.¹⁵ It is this latter route that our generals intend to make use of. This bayou will be easily made navigable for light boats by removing drift wood and cutting off trees under water. The Engineer Corps and Pioneers are at work at this now.

We marched 14 miles though this evening we are but 9 miles from our camp. Are bivouacked on a beautiful grass

¹⁵ In preparing for the attack on Grand Gulf, Grant made use of the second route here mentioned in transporting supplies. This route began at Duckport, opposite the mouth of the Yazoo River, and terminated below Vicksburg at New Carthage; it was thirty-seven miles in length, fifteen feet in depth, and it followed the course of the Walnut, Brush, and Round-away bayous; see *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXIV, pt. I: 14, 26, 30, 71-72.

plot in front of a Mr. Mason's residence which is very nice. This planter who owns $440\frac{1}{8}$ acres of land is now in Virginia. His overseer is here, and a very sulky scoundrel he is, too. Before the war this land was worth \$300. per. acre. Everything on the plantation is orderly, and there is everything to make the owner happy, if conveniences and super-conveniences will make a man happy. Directly in front of, and about 8 rods from, the fine dwelling house is a beautiful double dove-cot arranged according to the English style.

Saw the Spanish moss in vast quantities hanging upon the trees, and also saw specimens of the Palmetto.

Weather warm—uncumfortably so—clear. Walked most of the day letting the Adjutant ride my horse.

Tuesday, [April] 7th—Sweet potatoes for breakfast. Began to dig on the canal. The 83d Ohio Infy., and our regiment are all that are at work here. It will take us about three days to do all the work that can be done with shovels. On account of water the dredge-boats will have to do a considerable work on the canal.¹⁶ The success of this new route is not at all doubted by our leading engineer. Our men worked two hours to-day; every able bodied man used a shovel or spade. Yesterday I saw Major-Generals Grant and McClernand.

Weather clear and warm.

Wednesday, [April] 8th—Moved our place of bivouac last evening on account of water. Now we are where, if it storms, we will be well protected. The Staff have their tents; the regiment is in a cotton-gin and houses. The boys worked four hours on the canal: two this forenoon and two this afternoon. There is a great antipathy springing up between our regiment and the 83d Ohio. That regiment thinks us monsters—barbarians. Gathered flowers and wandered

¹⁶ Canal from Duckport to Walnut Bayou; see *supra*, n. 15.

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about seeing what was to be seen. The Western Engineer Corps is at work cleaning out this bayou two miles below here. Saw them sawing off stumps six feet under water. This is done with a cross-cut saw which is attached to a frame. This frame is sunk into the water as deep as it is wished to cut the stump off under water. The saw, of course, lies flat-ways under water. The frame which holds the saw is suspended on a pivot which is attached to an upright piece that is firmly fastened to the side of a flat boat or raft. A rope is tied to each corner of the frame near the ends of the saw; three men to each rope works the saw and frame which latter vibrates on the pivot. One man presses (or pulls) against the frame to regulate the cut of the saw. Thus it is that seven or eight men works the whole concern. It is slow work, however, one such saw only cutting from ten to fifteen stumps, a foot in diameter, in ten hours.

Weather uncomfortably warm; clear except an hour or so after dinner. Our regiment is nearly through digging. Was much disappointed yesterday because the mail came and I got no letters.

Thursday, [April] 9th—The boys did but very little digging to-day; the water seeped through from the swamp into where the dirt had been throwed out and hindered. Read in *Conchology* and in the *North American Review*. In company with Doctor May,¹⁷ our first assistant surgeon, I rode down this bayou about five miles, crossing the railroad running from Vicksburg to Moure [Monroe], La. There is a company of engineers or pioneers in camp on the bayou about a half mile apart as far down as we went. They are all at work clearing out the floating logs, and trees or stumps from the bayou. Was told by one of the engineers that this new route goes from this bayou into Brush Bayou, thence into Tensas Bayou which empties into the Red river.¹⁸ If this is the case,

¹⁷ Dr. Edwin May.

¹⁸ See *supra*, n. 15, for route of canal; it did not include the Tensas Bayou.

which I doubt, we have more difficulties to overcome than we had supposed ere our boats can pass the whole route.

Weather clear and warm. Received and read the St. Louis paper of the 4th inst. Got news of the general muster tomorrow for the benefit of the Provost Marshal General. We expect our regiment will be filled up to the maximum by conscripts. Began a letter to A. Van Winkle.¹⁹

Friday, [April] 10th—Went out on a foraging trip after sweet potatoes. Found no potatoes but some very nice large, ripe strawberries; also some honey and fine rush carpeting, the latter to carpet our tents. Paid fifty cents for 150 sq. ft. of this carpeting. Was mustered, by Col. Lippincott, according to the general order from Washington. Saw negroes making salt in a novel way. They took earth, put it into a *gum* and leached it as ashes are leached to get lye. The lye or water which was run through the dirt was then used as salt water is to make salt. Received Memphis papers of the 7th inst. Weather warm—a little cloudy indicating rain. The mosquitoes troubled us so last night we could not sleep. It is said that this huge army is going to move to [New] Carthage, on the Mississippi, below Vicksburg, in this State.

Saturday, [April] 11th—Received a letter from a sister-in-law, and replied to the same, addressing her and her husband, my brother. The 83d Ohio returned to camp, we being the only infantry here now. Had battalion drill, what time was not passed at this was occupied in skylarking about. Comp. G contrabanded several excellent books and a music-box. A great many expeditions went out after aligators. The expedition I went out with got an aligator which was about five feet long, and a snake about the same length. We threw this aligator into the boat before he was dead, he *flopping* about a considerable afterward. Studied Conchology, or the science of shells and the animals which grow

¹⁹ Alexander Van Winkle, Franklin County, Ill.

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them. My duties are still very light. I can hardly make it seem that I am soldering. Purchased in conjunction with Adjutant Gove²⁰ a nice large mosquito net. If we cannot now sleep well and enjoy ourselves we had better betake ourselves to Paradise.

Weather warm—clear save a few clouds in the N. W. which indicate rain. It began to rain this evening.

Sunday, [April] 12th—Rained nearly all night. Of course the mosquitoes did not *bother* us last night. Sent teams to camp after rations. Expect orders to go to camp. Received a letter from E. Morey and one from Kitty Morey; received, also, but by express, one housewife and a soldier's night cap, both being presents, the former from an old school-mate. Wrote a letter to A. R. Reynolds. Received Chicago papers of the 7th inst. Read in the Bible and in a religious work, besides reading the news. Weather, cloudy.

Monday, [April] 13th—Moved our headquarters across the bayou into a house which is very comfortable. Rained nearly all day. The water from the Mississippi was let into the new canal this afternoon. Got orders to move in the morning. Wrote to L. Curtis in acknowledgement of the receipt of the housewife and night-cap; also wrote a letter to E. Morey and a note to Kitty Morey. Read Gen. Butler's speech²¹ which was delivered at his reception in New York City. Endorse his every sentiment.

Tuesday, [April] 14th—Moved towards camp six miles and then halted till Col. Lippincott came up from camp with a few of the regiment and some wagons. We then, going direct from camp, went towards Richmond, traveling three miles we camped for the night upon a beautiful green-sward in a yard about a house. Found the road bad. Weather clear

²⁰ E. Aaron Gove, New Rutland, Ill.

²¹ Address of Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler delivered in New York at the Academy of Music, April 2, 1863.

part of the day. We are bound for [New] Carthage. McClelland's whole corps is on its way to that place.²²

Wednesday, [April] 15th—Reveille at 3 o'clock this morning and marched at 5 A. M. Came 7 miles passing Richmond and camping for the night on Round-a-way Bayou. Saw Major-General McClelland. He went past us on his way to [New] Carthage.

Thursday, [April] 16th—Sent a note with diary to mother. Reveille at half past three and marched at six this morning. Came 11 miles. Road somewhat muddy; woods on each side but a distance from the road. Joined our Brigade which is at Camp Carr 4 miles north of [New] Carthage, La. Got into camp a little before noon. Weather quite warm; indeed, hot. Commodore Porter intends to run the batteries of Vicksburg to-night with gunboats, rams, and transports. Rode my horse nearly all day.

Friday, [April] 17th—Slept in the new night-cap last night; find it to be a fine thing. There was heavy firing heard in the night which came from Vicksburg. Our boats certainly tried to run the gauntlet, and we hear, not officially, that eleven gunboats and several transports *did* run the gauntlet. Sent back to Milliken's Bend; we are now 24 miles from that place. Do not feel very well. Weather disagreeably warm; clear, as yesterday and day before. Night before last I wrote and sent the series of resolutions in relation to Captain Burnham's resignation to the editor of the *Bloomington Pantagraph*. Am reliably informed that eight gunboats, two transports and a number of flat boats loaded with 300000 rations besides a lot of camp equipage did successfully get past Vicksburg last night. One transport was sunken in trying to get past.²³ Weather clear & warm.

²² The Thirteenth Army Corps, under McClelland, had been ordered by Grant to New Carthage, preparatory to the opening of the Vicksburg campaign.

²³ On the night of April 16, 1863, seven gunboats, three transports and ten transport barges ran the Vicksburg batteries. The transport *Henry Clay* burned.

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Saturday, [April] 18th—Paymaster arrived to pay our Division. Heavy rain last night; clear to-day. Are arranging things for our pay up to the first of March.

Have a bad diarrhea and am quite unwell.

Sunday, [April] 19th—Sick all day but much better this evening. Only made the details; the Adjutant called in a clerk to do the writing. The officers had a sing in our tent this evening. Wrote a letter to father. Ceased messing with the Colonel yesterday; now we have four in our mess: the Quartermaster, Quartermaster - Sergeant, Commissary - Sergeant and myself. We have a very good black man for a cook. Weather warm and clear. Heard that Charleston S. C. was taken and that Rosecrans was driving Joe Johnston.²⁴

Monday, [April] 20th—Quite well to-day. Received pay. A considerable talk about officering negro companies and regiments! Was invited to apply for a captaincy in a negro regiment. Am undecided upon what to do. Adjutant General Thomas is now at Milliken's Bend giving commissions to men who will command negroes. Weather clear and warm. Are under marching orders.

Tuesday, [April] 21st—Marched 10 miles crossing Bayou Round-a-way, and camped or rather bivouacked just at dark on Perkins' Plantation, near the Mississippi just opposite of Jeff. Davis' Plantation. None of our teams or horses are up. All of our cooking utensils and provisions, except a few we put in our haversacks this morning, are back on the other side of Round-a-way bayou. Saw our gunboats that came past Vicksburg last Thursday night, and saw where the *Indianolia*²⁵ was sunk; her wheel-houses and upper parts gen-

²⁴ Charleston was not captured until February, 1865, and Rosecrans was not pressing Johnston at this time; he had not been on the offensive since the battle of Murfreesboro in January, 1863.

²⁵ The *Indianola* sank after her capture on February 24, 1863, by the Confederate *Queen of the West*.

erally are in view. She lies a little above [New] Carthage. A very heavy rain this afternoon; cloudy most of the day. All of our regiment was exposed to the rain.

Wednesday, [April] 22nd—It rained last night and we all were exposed to it; some of our officers did not have any bed-clothing or any kind of shelter and consequently did not get a wink of sleep last night. General Osterhaus' Division is in camp near by us, indeed all around us. All the gunboats steamed down the river this morning. Still without our baggage. Live upon begged hard-bread and what little we could buy. Weather cloudy in the morning, clear and warm the remainder of the day. The owner (Perkins) of this plantation had a fine house which he himself burnt when Gen. Butler captured New Orleans. Everything on the premises has been going to ruin since that time. It is not known where Perkins is now. There is a very fine garden about where the house used to stand; a beautiful grove of live-oaks stands between the garden and the river. Last Thursday a force of rebel cavalry which was in camp on this ground, left here.

Thursday, [April] 23d—We are jubilant over the success of our boats (transports) which came past Vicksburg last night. Six transports made the attempt and all got past—this side of the battery (rebel) farthest down the river when one—the *Tigress*—was sunk, it having sprung a leak from the effect of the enemy's fire; the other five came down past Carthage though one (the *Empire City*) being so disabled it floated all the way from Vicksburg. The other four are somewhat injured but will soon be fitted for our use. Talked with several of those who came down on the boats. Only three or four out of the crews of the six boats were wounded—none killed—some fatally wounded though. These crews were nearly all soldiers who volunteered their services. They are from the 45th, 8th & 20th Ill. Infy. & 7th Mo. Infy. & some Indian boys. The crew of the *Tigress* were all

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saved. The Empire City was under fire one hour and a half; this long time is accounted for by she being totally disabled before she got half way past the batteries.

Some of our baggage came up. Gen. Osterhaus' Division is on transports to go and attack Grand Gulf. Our Brigade is ordered to be ready with 3 days cooked rations to march to the support of Osterhaus' Division.

Friday, [April] 24th—For some reason Osterhaus' command did not leave yesterday but disembarked. Most of our baggage has come up. Gen. Benton, Gen. Carr and Gen. McClernand have arrived. Am reading Lieutent. Gibbon's explorations in the valley of the Amazon. Received a letter last evening from sister Sarah and replied to it to-day. Through her letter I am grieved by hearing of the death of Susan Mason,²⁶ a second cousin.

“The beam of morn was on the stream,
But sullen clouds the day deform—
Like *thee* was that young, orient beam;
Like death, alas, that sullen storm!”

Saturday, [April] 25th—A cotton-gin, saw-mill and a shed near our camp was burned last evening. Co. “E” of our regiment was sent out to catch the incendiaries but they were not to be found. Our field-desk having come up last evening I have the regular camp duty to perform—the consolidated morning report to make out and the other usual writing to do when we have our papers with us. Osterhaus' Division has gone, it is supposed, to make the attack upon Grand Gulf, Miss. Wrote in diary. Drew clothing. Had Brigade drill, Gen. Benton drilling us. Wrote a long letter to J. Dickinson, and wrote a note which I mailed, with diary, to sister Persis.

²⁶ Of Lake County, Ill.

Weather some cloudy—warm. Special orders are received which prohibit, upon severe punishment, the burning of houses or destroying any property whatever unless by so doing our cause is absolutely aided and furthered; also forbidding gambling or selling spirituous liquors within our lines; also special directions are received for the management of troops in the coming movement.

Sunday, [April] 26th—Read in Moore's Poetical Works. Made out Staff Muster-Rolls for last month and this month. Had Brigade drill, at which were Gen. McClernand and Gov. Yates of Illinois. Both addressed us. Could not hear the speakers so I, as yet, know but little of what they said. Gen. McClernand said that we were in the advance of the army and as we were the heroes of Pea Ridge, Cache, and White River, we were the "right men in the right place." Both highly complimented us upon our soldierly appearance and upon what we had done, and they seemed to not doubt our ability and willingness to perform what we are assigned to do in the impending battle. The Governor said he had come to be here while we are fighting this battle and when it is over to see that his "brave and noble boys" are well cared for. The Governor received from our battery and colors the usual salute—fifteen guns, colors drooping, small arms and swords presented. We went through with the semblance of a fight, firing blank cartridges; the 18th Indian Regt. went through with the bayonet exercise. 'Twas a very pleasant affair—the whole thing.

Weather cloudy—it commenced raining about sunset and still continues. The private news is that we march sometime to-night, and are to make the attack upon Grand Gulf sometime to-morrow. The rebels have been, of late, reinforcing their force at that place. O God, protect us.

Monday, [April] 27th—Got orders about noon to embark immediately, which we very soon prepared to do, but did

not succeed in getting aboard the boat (*Forest Queen*, the Flag Boat) till after dark. We leave behind everything save the well men with their knapsacks, guns and accoutrements with 80 rounds of ammunition to the man, three days rations in our haversacks, and horses for the main staff officers and their orderlies. Everybody is jolly and each one has a good word of cheer for his friend or comrade—all are in a bustle; every one is confident of victory in the coming contest. It rained in the night and some this forenoon; it is very muddy. Received, late last evening, a letter from Alex. Van Winkle. He gave me the news up to the 19th inst. Only one or two well men from our regiment were left to guard our baggage which we could not bring with us.

Tuesday, [April] 28th—Did not leave the landing last night as all the boats were not loaded till about eleven o'clock this A. M. Troops are coming in from Milliken's Bend; a part of McPherson's *Corps de Armie* is already here waiting to embark which they will do as soon as the boats can take us down and return. Seven transports and four or five barges, each loaded with a regiment or more, left Perkin's Plantation about noon, we disembarking on the Louisiana side, four or five miles above the fortifications at Grand Gulf, about two o'clock P. M. The rebels' position is in plain view. Judging from appearances they have a strong position. We found six of our gunboats just above Grand Gulf, lying out of reach of the rebels' guns. As the day was closing our gunboats threw three shells into the enemy's position, to learn the range of the guns; the enemy did not reply. The weather is very warm, sky clear. It is said that the ball opens in the morning. The transports and barges are all back after more troops. All of Carr's Division and part of Osterhaus' are here. When we were landing there were some negroes near by who appeared to be very happy indeed upon seeing us. They clapped their hands in joy,

prostrated themselves, shook hands with each other, and thanked the Lord as a negro only can. 'Twas interesting, affecting, and impressive to witness these manifestations of joy. Col. Lippincott, who, until this war has alwas been a proslavery man, seeing them remarked "I was never more tempted to be an abolitionist." I carry a gun, and have no horse to ride while on this expedition.

Wednesday, [April] 29th—The sun arose throwing an impressive splendor upon the exciting scenes of the early morn. Every boat—transport and barge—lies at the landing, about five miles above Grand Gulf, covered till they are black with troops. Every heart here is full of anxiety and emotion; wondering eyes and eyes not altogether tearless, gaze ever and anon upon the *Father of Waters* where lie the formidable fleet of gunboats and rams, transports and barges, the latter heavily loaded with troops whose courage and valor are sufficient when combined with that of the rest of this mighty army, to redeem this lovely valley of the Mississippi from fiends and traitors who are desecrating it. Now it is 7½ o'clock, a. m. Each gunboat and transport has gotten up full steam. The black smoke curls up from the blacker smoke-pipes, and moves towards the rebels, seeming to tell them of their black deeds and warns them of their portion when we attack them. It is like that which comes from the lower regions, scented with brimstone and issuing as it does from those gunboats, the traitors may well think, as they see it, that that fleet from which it comes has a portion of hell to give them, and that too, ere long, if they do not surrender or run. And now what means that? Every gunboat is steaming up the river. Can it be that the attack is not to be made? Every one is surprised. No; 'tis only the preparation for the attack. They are now "rounding to" and there they go. Thousands of eyes are looking upon. The first gun is fired by the enemy; the Benton, I believe, replies. 'Tis 8 o'clock. The contest has fairly begun; every gunboat is en-

gaged. We all know when the enemy fires his heaviest guns as they make a sharper report than any of ours, though we have as large guns as he; this is probably accounted for by ours being on the water. Eleven o'clock, A. M. Several of the enemy's batteries are silenced. The gunboats ply around and close to his strongest battery which gives them a round every opportunity, but as they near that battery they, one after another, give him broadsides which are terrible and produce a marked effect. The Benton "lays off" nearly across the river and just opposite and within good range of this powerful battery; every few minutes she sends an 84 or 64 pounder with nice precision at it; the dust flies and the enemy is quiet for a minute. This boat makes the most of the best shots that are fired. It seems to me that the enemy shoots wildly. A few minutes after 12 M. The bombardment is over. Every one of the enemy's batteries save one, of three heavy guns are silenced, and we tried in vain to silence it.²⁷ The fleet has retired; Gen. Grant who was in a messenger boat during the bombardment, has come ashore. A little while passes and we get orders to start immediately down the levee, past Grand Gulf. The transports are being unloaded. At two P. M. we started for below; all the boats are to run the gauntlet to-night. We are now (evening) three or four miles below the enemy's works, though we only marched about three miles to get from five miles above them. The generals, colonels, and privates all lie down together, one faring no better than another.

Thursday, [April] 30th—All of the barges, transports, (save one,) and gunboats came past Grand Gulf last night,²⁸ having complete success, only one man being slightly hurt

²⁷ Admiral Porter directed the river attack on the Grand Gulf fortifications. Grant stated: "From the great elevation the enemy's batteries had, it proved entirely impracticable to silence them from the river, and when the gunboats were drawn off, I immediately decided upon landing my forces on the Louisiana shore and march them across the point to below the Gulf." *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXIV, pt. I:32.

²⁸ On this occasion the gunboats made another vigorous attack, and in the din the transports safely ran the blockade. *Ibid.*

and five artillery horses killed. In yesterday's action we lost 13 (one Lieut.) killed and twenty odd wounded. Every barge, transport, and gunboat was heavily loaded early this morning with us troops. We then came down the river about six or eight miles and disembarked upon the Mississippi side, and then under a broiling sun, our Brigade immediately marched to these bluffs (a distance of five miles).²⁹ Here we are waiting to get our suppers and till a detail from the Brigade bring up upon their backs three days rations—the other brigades drew their rations before they left the river, but we could not as it was very necessary that we should make the bluffs as soon as possible.

Friday, May 1st [1863]—A bright, clear and warm day, with a very slight breeze. This has been a glorious day for the Union, and for the despondent hearts in the North. We have fought a battle and won a complete victory. Having partaken our suppers last evening we again set forth upon our march, the Second Brigade³⁰ going in the advance on account of our much wearied skirmishers. We came along slowly, carefully feeling our way though the moon shone brightly, and twice dispersing the enemy's pickets, till two o'clock A. M. when we came upon the enemy in force who *saluted* us with several rounds of grape and cannister, though not hurting us very much. We had traveled since supper about eight miles through a pretty country which was high and rolling, covered with trees except the cultivated land. Our cannon were not long in returning the salute. This firing ceased after an hour or so, meantime small arms were used but very little. From this till daylight we tried—but few

²⁹ Grant's strategy in the final Vicksburg campaign is well known. With McClelland's Thirteenth Army Corps leading the drive, Union troops landed in Mississippi at or near Bruinsburg, several miles below Grand Gulf, and moved northeast along the east bank of the Big Black River to the Vicksburg and Jackson Railroad and then northward to Haines Bluff and the Yazoo River. This movement placed Grant's armies between those of Pemberton at Vicksburg and Johnston near Jackson. Sherman then protected the rear of Grant's army while the latter invested Vicksburg.

³⁰ Brig. Gen. Michael K. Lawler commanding.

succeeding—to catch a little sleep, a strong guard having been put out in line of skirmishers. Soon after the dawn of day we recuperated ourselves somewhat with what little we had to eat. I might have previously stated that our knapsacks and the 99th's being left back over a mile, we could not sleep on account of cold, no fires being permitted. A little after sunrise Major Potter in command of companies A, C, F and G of our regiment was ordered to go out on the road to our left (our line of battle at this time was north and south, facing to the east and hold it till Gen. Osterhaus could relieve him. I asked permission of the Colonel to go with comp. "A", and carry a gun, but was refused so I had to stay with the regiment to be ready to carry and repeat orders. The Major with his pet soldiers had not gone far ere the enemy opened fire upon him with his cannon. This was really the beginning of the battle. Soon the skirmishers in front come in contact and the roar of musketry is heard. The troops, divisions, Brigades, and regiments are assigned their positions; and now each of these commands are hurrying to its post. Gen. Carr's Division is on the right, Gen. Osterhaus' on the left and Gen. (A. P.) Hovey's in the centre, the latter and former facing to the east, the other facing to the northeast. Our Brigade, Gen. Benton's, is the right brigade of Carr's Division; our regiment is right of the center of the brigade, though it should according to general orders be on the left, but this change was caused by circumstances. We have not *all* got our positions yet, but the battle commences in earnest, the artillery on both sides firing smartly. The enemy has a cross fire upon us and we double quick into line or cover ourselves under the brow of a ridge of land. Our regiment being divided the six companies are ordered to stay back till the other four companies come up. And now I see Major Potter with his gallant band coming; I tell the fact to Col. Lippincott. He orders me to bring the Major and his command to join the regiment. I go but dear me! how the

shells and shot whiz around me. One shell bursts just over me; I shrink and dodge with the flash, but hasten on very soon, and after some difficulty, helping right up capsized caissons and crowding through the excited troops, I find the Major and direct him to the regiment, but on our way the grape, cannister, shells and solid shot drop about us and go over us in storms. I hear a ball whizzing towards me; I fall to the earth for safety and just in time for it to go about three feet over me. It strikes the ground a few yards from me; I dare not turn to look at it, but am up and off. Now our regiment hastens to its post in the line of battle. Meanwhile the small arms of the other regiments send forth terrible volleys. The line of battle having moved forward it is now just behind the brow of a hill. As our regiment comes up into the line the rebels fire upon it, but our boys pour a deadly fire into them and make them get behind a ridge beyond the one we are on. "*Cease firing*" is ordered; "*Lie down*" follows. Gen. Benton comes along the line and orders us to fix bayonet for he's going to charge. All is quiet for several minutes, and then a few rebel sharpshooters fire at our heads and our flags. When our boys see a rebel they give him a round, the same as they do us. The 99th Ill, and the 18th and 24th Ind. make a charge; the order don't reach us so we lie quiet. A furious yell is sent up by those who are charging. The rebels break and run but we capture many of them and take two of their cannons. This ends the fight for the forenoon with us, and it is nearly noon now. Osterhaus continues the fight on the left; Hovey's and our Division pursue the rebels that we routed, and we find them, after traveling two miles towards Port Gibson, where they found their reinforcements. It is a little after noon; again we are thrown into a line of battle, facing as before, to the east, meanwhile the fight is progressing. The enemy masses his troops and try to break our line, but fail. He throws a heavy force upon our right, then centre, and then left. He has but two cannons working upon

us and ere night we capture those two. Our artillery fires with powerful effect at them; we have now got a cross fire and an enfilading fire upon them. They have the woods; we have to go over an open field before our musketry can reach them, but there is a ridge, upon which are our cannon, behind which we lie in almost perfect safety. Now we have about 30 pieces of artillery all at work; their booming is not unfamiliar to our ears. With now and then a cessation in firing the battle is thus kept up till night fall when our regiment with some others retires to get a bite to eat, but as soon as we are through eating we return to the field, stack our arms on the line of battle and lie down to sleep, and oh, how thankful we are, for we have slept but about four hours within the last sixty.

We don't know our whole success, but we know this, that we drove the enemy in every close contact.

Saturday, [May] 2nd—Quite well refreshed with sleep, we were routed by sunrise and were soon started for Port Gibson. We reach this place not in time to save the bridges across the Bayou [Pierre], which the retreating rebels set on fire. Not a rebel, in arms, is to be found, a good many prisoners are coming in. This is a pretty place; 'tis now filled with wounded rebels. We tore down a gin-house and in three hours time our Brigade built a bridge across the Bayou, and a little after noon our troops (Logan's Division) was again pursuing the flying enemy. Our Brigade stays here for the present. Our regiment lost yesterday 14 wounded, none killed or taken prisoners. Our Brigade lost 28 killed and 140 wounded, none taken prisoners. Saw O. S. Sabine, an old schoolmate of mine who has been in prison in Alabama, and since an agent for the *Jackson Mississippian*. He came to our lines last night. I wouldn't [trust him] farther than I could hit him with my rifle, and he is not kept under guard. I believe he is anything that will aid his own private interests

and gain. No firing at all to-day. All of McPherson's and McClermand's *Corps de Armie* are here—probably about 35000 in all. After we had routed the enemy yesterday morning I saw Gen. McClermand take Gen. Benton by the hand and congratulate him on the success of the latter's Brigade. Gen. Benton's bosom heaved with emotions of joy, and could speak only with difficulty. I was impressed with the scene and felt like crying "*Hallelujah*." Our victory was complete, driving the enemy at every point, taking about one thousand prisoners and more than that number of small arms, besides some of their ammunition which was of English manufacture. We all feel proud of our success and believe we will soon add this State to the number now in our possession.

Sunday, [May] 3d—Reveille at three and was to march at five A. M. but did not get started till nearer seven. Our Division then moved one mile and a half directly towards Grand Gulf when, finding we could not cross Bayou Perre with our artillery as the enemy had burnt the bridges, we about faced and came back to Port Gibson and then came on seven miles from there towards Rocky Spring, having traveled in all ten miles. Saw about 20000 lbs of bacon and shoulders and hams that the enemy had endeavored to secrete. The enemy evacuated Grand Gulf last night, first spiking the cannons and blowing up two of their magazines, our gunboats making it to unpleasant for them to blow up the third. We are bivouaced in line of battle, and live upon what we can forage. The weather was warm—road very dusty. Came through a fine tract of country. Negroes are flocking to our lines with mules, horses, and wagons.

Monday, [May] 4th—Moved about two miles, and bivouacked near Willow Springs. Carry a Colt's Navy revolver. Rode a mule to-day. Read in *Pelham*,³¹ a novel and in the Atlantic for January, '63. Nothing of interest occurred. Weather warm.

³¹ E. G. E. Lytton Bulwer, *Pelham* (New York, 1836).

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Tuesday, [May] 5th—Wrote a letter to Sarah and sent it with a note I wrote on the second to mother; also wrote to A. R. Reynolds. The mail went out and other regiments got a mail yesterday. Our contraband teams were sent to Grand Gulf after rations. Our killed and wounded in the action on the first inst., says the Chicago Tribune correspondent, was 500, four or five being taken prisoners.³² The enemy's loss must have been greater, setting aside their men whom we took prisoners. Gen. Benton's Brigade fought on that day the same troops it fought at Pea Ridge—the 3d (rebel) Missouri and an Alabama regiment. In Gen. Osterhaus' command there was a Missourian (Union) who took his own brother prisoner on the battle field. A man in our regiment was knocked down by a rebel who "*clubbed arms.*" Rained some in the night.

Wednesday, [May] 6th—Lay by quietly all day. Nothing interesting. Read in the Atlantic. Am unwell.

Thursday, [May] 7th—Reveille at one and marched at three a. m. Came thirteen miles and are now (evening) in bivouac about two miles. . . .

[Saturday, May 14th-16th³³—The Battle of Port Gibson, sometimes properly called Magnolia Hills or Baldwin's Hills, I have before told our folks all about. That of Champion Hills, 5 or 6 miles from Edwards' Depot on the Vicksburg and Jackson R. R., I don't know much about as we didn't get a chance to do much though we were ordered to "pitch in." The trouble was when we got ready to strike the enemy had fled. This was on the 16th inst. the day our regiment lost two men killed by a gun falling and being discharged,

³² The official report of the losses of Union forces at the battle of Port Gibson gave 131 killed, 719 wounded and 25 captured or missing. Confederate losses, as reported by Brig. Gen. John S. Bowen, commanding, were: 68 killed, 380 wounded, and 384 missing. See *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXIV, pt. 1: 582-85, 668.

³³ The diary for the period May 7-16 is lost; the lacuna is in part filled by the following extract from a letter written by Wilcox to his sister-in-law, Persis Wilcox, dated May 26-27, 1863.

and on the 17th our regiment, as well as the whole of Carr's Division, particularly the 2nd Brigade, distinguished itself though it (the regt.) lost only 7 men wounded. Our Regt. that day took 13 cannon from the enemy, and the 2nd Brigade composed of the 11th Wis. and the 21st, 22nd and 23d Iowa regiments, took about 2000 prisoners and about 2 [000?] small arms.³⁴ The 2nd Brigade charged but only our skirmishers charged, there being no possible chance of our regiment or brigade to get over a bayou between us and the enemy's works. This was at Big Black River Bridge, thus far, the most decisive battle we have had since we came in this State. On the 14th inst. our Division marched to within 5½ miles of Jackson, the capitol of this State, and on the 15th we turned back coming past Raymond and bivouacking near the enemy].

Sunday, [May] 17th—With nothing to cover us but gunny-bagging and some lousey blankets the enemy left, in their haste, at Edward's Dépôt, we lay down last night and after enjoying the night's rest we again started, early this morning in pursuit of the enemy. Having traveled about 3 miles we came on to the enemy's pickets which we drove in. Our Division took the advance and our regiment the advance of the Division. Coming a half mile further we were in rifle shot of the enemy's entrenchments at this place, Big Black River Bridge. His works were very strong but we took them after about two hours fighting, the skirmishers only, being engaged till the 2nd Brigade charged when it and 4 companies of our (Regt's) skirmishers went into the rebel stronghold taking 2300 prisoners, 18 cannon and about 5000 small arms.³⁵ Our regiment has the honor of taking the cannon

³⁴ In the battle of Big Black River Bridge, Carr reported the capture of 1,751 prisoners and 1,421 small arms by the division; of these Lawler reported the capture of 1,120 prisoners and 1,460 small arms by his second brigade. McClernand reported the capture of "about 1,500" in this battle. *Ibid.*, 152, 617; pt. II:138.

³⁵ The difference in the statistics given here and those given in the letter above is explained by the fact that the diary was written shortly after the battle, and several days had elapsed before the above letter was written.

and the 2nd Brigade the honor of taking the prisoners while both enjoy the honor of taking the small arms. The enemy what got away made quick time though they set the railroad bridge on fire before we could make it. We did not put out the fire, indeed I don't know as we could. This action was the most decisive one since we entered the State. A floating bridge is being constructed across the river. Gen. Sherman is crossing on a pontoon above us. Are to press right on to Vicksburg. Weather very warm. Some of our Regt. was wounded in to-day's action. Captured a rebel cartridge-box, cap pouch and a lot of Enfield Rifle ammunition. I as well as all of our Division feel very jubilant over to-day's work.

Monday, [May] 18th—Starting early this morning we came 13 miles and are in bivouac, (in line of battle), this evening, six miles from Vicksburg. We are living on what the country furnishes, corn meal, beef, bacon & vegetables—hard bread is wanting.³⁶ Weather warm. Road very dusty and through a very broken country though plantations are numerous and finely fitted up. The women and children have deserted their houses and are living in the woods where they have some of their household furniture.

Tuesday, [May] 19th—"Onward to Vicksburg" is the cry. Came up within rifle shot of the enemy's works in rear of Vicksburg. The fight began on our right in the morning. It is stated that Sherman has taken Hanes' Bluff and that we therefore have direct communication with the [Yazoo] river and can get ample supplies. We, too, began the fight at about 2 P. M. and continued it till night closed in upon us. Some of our Regt. were wounded by shell from the enemy. The enemy used his cannon freely upon us. We have now completely invested this place and believe we'll

³⁶ Grant's base of supplies had been established at Grand Gulf following its occupation on May 3, 1863, but he reported that from May 1 to May 21, only about five days' rations had been drawn from the commissary department. *Ibid.*, pt. I:54.

take it with the whole garrison within a day or two. Sherman's Corps is on the right, his right resting on the Yazoo River between Haines' Bluff & Vicksburg, McPherson's in the center and McClernand's on the left. Our provisions are cooked in our rear and brought up to us. Our (Division) Hospital is a mile and a half directly in our rear and near the railroad. Smith's Division is just to the right of the railroad, ours just to the left and Osterhaus' to the left of us; Hovey is our reserve. Weather warm.

Wednesday, [May] 20th—Was hit this morning by a bullet it penetrating my pantaloons' leg but not wounding. Our Brigade changed position it going just north of the railroad and now closer to the enemy. Are still where the enemy's cannon and our own fire directly over us as we were in our old position. Are digging rifle pits and throwing up breast works and getting our cannon in closer and more commanding positions. All this work is done during the nights. There are from two to three companies from each regiment out sharpshooting all the time. While getting in the new position Capt. H. M. Kellogg³⁷ (Co. C) was killed, and one private. Carried orders and had to necessarily expose myself to the enemy. Used my gun some; like it very much. Are getting reinforcements and gradually getting in the closest possible positions to the enemy. Our Sharpshooters keep the enemy from using their cannon very often. The firing is not so constant on either side as it was yesterday or the day before. Our cannon wounded some of our own men, the shell being poor. The weather very warm. Feel quite well and am quite unconcerned when the balls pass over us. To understand our situation it will be well to imagine a series of ridges parallel with the enemy's lines and these ridges cut in places by ravines in which are numerous springs which afford us plenty of excellent water. In any position in which we have yet been since the 18th we have been able

³⁷ Capt. Henry M. Kellogg, Bloomington, Ill.

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to get water by going 30 or 40 rods and oftener by going 10 rods. This is a blessed thing for us.

Thursday, [May] 21st—Several of our Brigade were wounded by our own shells bursting prematurely. Such, of course are the accidents of war. Our regiment lost some killed and wounded. Continued the work on the entrenchments last night. The enemy repairs during the night all the damage we do their works during the previous day. Men from the enemy come to us nearly every night. They tell us that there are a great many that would come to us if they could safely. Most of these men are opposed to the South trying to establish a government of their own and yet they don't exactly like the North. I have heard many of the prisoners we have lately taken say that us Northwestern men were not Yankees but *men* like "us Southern people." This might be considered a strong hint to the *regular yankee*.

Was blessed with a fine shower of rain—flying clouds and stormy but warm & sultry. Got orders to charge upon the enemy's works at 10 o'clock in the morning.³⁸ Our whole line is to charge. Our Brigade and regimental officers in the Brigade look sad when talking of these orders, and are opposed to them as a general thing though I heard one day that he³⁹ believed that the enemy's works were a great scarecrow and that we can rush right over them, a volley from our musketry driving the enemy from behind them. I don't adopt this doctrine and my heart is much depressed when meditating upon our duty for the morrow. The men don't

³⁸ Grant ordered a general assault on Vicksburg to commence at 10:00 A. M., May 22, because he considered it essential that the city be captured before Johnston attacked his armies in the rear. *Ibid.*, 55.

In the letter of May 26-27 mentioned *supra*, n. 33, Wilcox stated: "I was apprised on Thursday evening that we were to charge the following morning at 10 o'clock. That night I did not sleep well. I could not for my mind was absorbed with the thoughts of what our brave and noble boys must suffer on the morrow. The following morning, and before the charge, I cried when thinking how my comrades must soon be shot down, for I knew the enemy had a strong force in front of us."

³⁹ Probably Gen. John A. McClernand is meant.

want to charge and yet they say they will do it when ordered. Received a letter from Capt. Burnham.

Friday, [May] 22nd—Now that we have tried to take the enemy's works by storm we suffering terribly and doing the enemy but little harm, we are all—generals and privates—content to lay a regular siege to the place. This has been a sad day for the 33d as well as for this whole army. The army's loss to-day will I think exceed 4000 killed and wounded while the enemy has repulsed us his loss, undoubtedly being trifling.⁴⁰ At ten we were all ready for the charge and though not very confident of success we put on an air of confidence. Our Brigade filed down the hollow in which we lay last night till it intersected a larger hollow which we followed up to its head, and then, still marching by the flank, we mounted the ridge within 4 rods of the enemy who poured a deadly fire into us till we reached the opposite side of the ridge. To do this we had to run along the brow of the ridge in a direct line of the enemy's fire, for 15 rods. Here is where our poor boys suffered terribly, the ridge being covered with the dead and wounded. A part of the Brigade halted and lay down in the wagon road which runs along on the ridge; I was among this lot. We lay there about eight minutes and yet it seemed an age to me, for showers of bullets and grape were passing over me and not a foot above me, and on my right and left were my comrades dying and dead as well as living. What an awful eight minutes that was,^P we having to lay there not allowed to fire a single shot at the enemy who was sending to eternity by scores our brave boys souls! Oh, how my heart palpitated! It seemed to thump the ground (I lay on my face) as hard as the enemy's bullets.

⁴⁰ Grant reported that due to McClernand's insistence that the Vicksburg fortifications could be carried by his Thirteenth Army Corps if the attack were pressed by the armies of Sherman and McPherson so as to divert the enemy's pressure on the former's army, the attack was unduly prolonged. He stated that this caused a fifty per cent increase in casualties. Those resulting from the assault of May 22 were 502 killed, 2,550 wounded and 147 captured or missing; for the Vicksburg assault and the forty-two days' siege combined, the casualties were only 545 killed, 3,688 wounded and 303 missing. *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXIV, pt. I: 55-56, 59; pt. II:167.

The sweat from off my face run in a stream from the tip ends of my whiskers. God only knows all that passed through my mind. Twice I exclaimed aloud, that my comrades might here "*My God, why don't they order us to charge,*" and then I thought perhaps all of our officers were killed and there was no one to order us forward. I thought of dear friends, of home and of heaven, but never wished, as did some who were near me that, I had never attempted to charge, and, indeed, wished that I had not become a soldier. Some who were wounded groaned and shrieked, others were calm and resigned. Generally those that were the slightest wounded shrieked the loudest, thinking they were wounded the worst. One fellow whose performance was the most pleasing thing I saw during the day was wounded slightly just as he got near where I lay. He immediately started to go back, his officers trying in vain to make him stay with us. After stepping a few steps he, it seemed to me, purposely dropped on the ground and then rolled as if the lightning had set him going, clear back into the ravine, a distance of about two and a half rods. Though under such precarious circumstances and in such peril I could not refrain from smiling when seeing the "rolling man." Receiving orders from Colonel Roe⁴¹ all of our regiment who could arose and made for over the ridge where we could get under cover; meantime Col. Roe fell just before me, wounded in the leg. The regiment was then divided, all of us who lay down in the road being in one place and the rest in another. The right wing of the 8th Ind. soon coming up our little band joined then and we all charged over the railroad where we were again exposed to an awful fire, though but few were hit as we were exposed but a minute. Here on the south side of the railroad we took a position within three rods of one of the enemy's forts upon which the 77th Ill. had its flag planted, and from which it was taken, by the

⁴¹ Lieut. Col. Edward R. Roe of Bloomington, Ill., a teacher at Normal University; the wound received in this engagement forced him to retire from service a few days later.

enemy. Here we lay sharpshooting whenever the enemy showed himself, till after dark when we all fell back without molestation to the position we occupied early in the morning. There were only six companies of the 33d in the charge, (three being out sharpshooting and one on provost guard), about one hundred and fifty men. Out of this number there were 76 killed and wounded. Am wearied and can't tell more of the sad tale. The fragment of the regiment is this evening still a unit and if we are attacked to-night we will be able to give the enemy a warm reception, though our hearts are sad. Company E which led the regiment in the charge lost 25 men killed & wounded out of 33.

Saturday, [May] 23d—Weather warm as it was yesterday: showers of rain this afternoon. A few of our wounded who did not crawl off were brought off from the field last night. There are still some of the wounded on the field. This day we passed in sitting in the shade and telling our narrow escapes and our sorrows. Are still within rifle shot of the enemy. Some of our regiments took some prisoners yesterday. No part of our line was more successful than we were in the charge.

Sunday, [May] 24th—During the fore-part of last night our Brigade moved to a position just south of the railroad, the same position we held on last Wednesday. The enemy does not fire his artillery: we do. The sharpshooters on both sides are at work though not as briskly as before the charge. Our dead and some of our wounded are still on the field; we can not get them as Gen. Grant wont allow us to use a flag of truce on account of it being considered that a flag of truce from us would be acknowledging our repulse as a defeat. Weather very warm. Have plenty rations now.

Monday, [May] 25th—The enemy came in with a flag of truce and proposed, what we accepted, an armistice of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours for the purpose of us moving our wounded and burying

our dead. The stench of the latter was so offensive that the rebels couldn't stand it any longer. During this armistice there were many of the enemy who tried to come within our lines. A great many of us had an opportunity, which we improved, of conversing with the enemy. Two of our regiment who were wounded Friday morning were brought off the field this afternoon.⁴²

Tuesday, [May] 26th—Firing was resumed this morning on both sides, the enemy not using his cannon, and neither firing as rapidly as usual. This evening Sergt. C. U. Besse, Co. A, my dear friend, had both his arms cut off by a piece of one of our own shell. Scarcely a day passed without two or three of our Brigade being killed or wounded by our own guns.

Weather very warm. Are receiving reinforcements. The mortar boats are constantly at work throwing shell into Vicksburg.

Wednesday, [May] 27th—Nothing new to-day; operations still continue. Heavy details are made to work on our entrenchments during the night. Wrote a letter to Capt. Burnham, and wrote one the other day to sister Persis. Weather warm.

[This makes the 9th day we have been lying within rifle shot of the enemy's works in rear of Vicksburg. Nearly every day some one of our regt. is hit by the enemy's fire or by accident from our cannon which fire over us. These accidents occur from the poor shell or poor powder. Last evening Sergt. Besse of Co. A (one of my particular friends) had

⁴² In the letter of May 26-27 mentioned *supra*, n. 33, Wilcox stated: "The armistice was from 6 o'clock P. M. till 8½ P. M. of the same day [25th] though there was not a gun fired on either side, save our mortars throwing shell, from about 3 o'clock P. M. till 9 P.M. During the armistice I went over the ground where we charged the 22[nd] finding my coat, the pockets having been pilfered by our own men, talking with many of the enemy and witnessing the rebels who had covered the walls of their works. Many rebels wanted to come in our lines and give themselves, they being tired of serving their cause and it being against their own consciences, but as it was contrary to the rules of warfare to have allowed it, we did not permit them."

one arm cut entirely off between the elbow and wrist and the other arm almost cut off at the elbow by a piece of a shell from one of our guns. Both of his arms will have to be amputated. Poor armless fellow! How I mourn over his loss!

We are receiving reinforcements and can, I think, hold our own and hold the enemy till he starves out though it be six months. Johnston may trouble us some in our rear but we can whip his army and hold the Vicksburg army too. We are confident of ultimate success but believe we can't take the place by storm for it is as deserters from the enemy call it, "The Gibraltar of the South."

I am well and live well for a soldier. Am boarding with the Colonel's mess. For breakfast we had coffee with sugar and milk, biscuit and soda crackers, fried ham and fried beef steak, cucumber pickles, radishes, new onions, lettuce and boiled eggs and Irish potatoes.

Am well and hearty. Remember me to all the folks giving each one my love and a kiss for the deserving ones. Your last letter was lost with my bed clothing. I send a dime as I have no stamps to pay the postage on this.]⁴³

Thursday, [May] 28th—Our regiment's total loss up to date and since April 30th is 102 wounded and 24 killed. Our sharpshooters and the enemy's still "peck away"—our cannon fire occasionally. Weather very warm.

Friday, [May] 29th—Made out consolidated morning report and *tri-monthly return*. There was a furious cannonade on our side this morning and this evening, each time it lasting about 20 minutes, the enemy not replying. Received a letter from E. Morey and one from Kitty and her mother, Mrs. Morey. Am very tired of the siege & pray it may soon be over with.

⁴³ This section in brackets is an extract from the letter of May 26-27, mentioned *supra*, n 33.

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Saturday, [May] 30th—Visited the hospital last evening. Our wounded are having good care but many are dying. Wrote a letter to E. Morey. Saw, the other day, my old friend Adj. Van Winkle who is trying to get the Colonelcy of a negro regiment. He wants me to go in the same regiment. Wrote in diary. To-day nor yesterday we had no one wounded by our guns, for when they fired we moved away from their front. Saw my old classmate, Wm. Gunn.⁴⁴ Still have heavy details. Received Memphis papers of the 25th and Chicago papers of the 23d inst. Weather very warm.

Sunday, [May] 31st—Had to get up and move in the night so the cannon in our rear could fire without endangering us. As soon as the firing was over (it lasted about 20 minutes) we took up our old position. Wrote to sister May and mailed the same with diary. Read a considerable in newspapers. Had a good many officers visit us and held long conversations with them. Am very pleasantly surrounded with the exception that of some of the officers who will drink whiskey and swear. Have been doing Adjutant's and Sergt. Major's duty for several days in consequence of Adj. Gove being sick. Am quite tired in consequence of performing this double duty. Wrote an order detailing Lieut. Wilson⁴⁵ (my predecessor) as acting Adjutant during Gove's absence.

Weather very warm. Nothing new along the lines that I can hear of. Still firing after the old fashion, the enemy not replying with his artillery with the exception of three shots which he made at our Signal corps, they doing no damage. The report of our large cannon sounds no louder to us now than the report of a musket used to; and the report of a musket now no louder than a *cap* used to. After the war is over the big guns on a 4th of July celebration will be trifling to us experienced soldiers; then a cannon we will want for a

⁴⁴ William A. Gunn, Sergt., Co. K, Eighth Ill. Inf., of McLean County, Ill.

⁴⁵ John Wilson, Bloomington, Ill.

“pocket piece” and a gunboat to go a duck hunting; a mortar for a squirrel rifle, and a *ram* to butt muskrat houses down.

Monday, June 1st [1863]—Our 214 cannon played the enemy, what we call a “*reveille*” early this morning that they might be sure and wake up to roll-call. Gen. Grant says that *our prisoners* in this place must be on short rations and that he intends to feed them better as soon as they will become on more familiar terms. Am informed that he has said that our (Gen. Carr’s) Division can and may guard “our prisoners” and take them north there to stay and guard them. Already one of our regiments (the 22nd Iowa) has gone or rather started north to guard prisoners. Wrote a letter to Lucy Curtis and sent a *Forney’s War Press*⁴⁶ to father. Read some. Poor Sergt. C. U. Besse died this afternoon. The ague in his system together with both arms amputated was more than his constitution could bear. One more noble heart, brave soldier and true man has gone to rest. Good friend true patriot, hail and farewell!

Our cannon are firing this evening. Weather very warm. A number of our wounded started for Memphis, Tenn. It is said upon good authority that we yesterday or last evening captured from the enemy about 300000⁴⁷ gun-caps thus leaving them with but a few. Fourteen deserters came to us last night.

Tuesday, [June] 2nd—Wrote a letter to my dear parents. Received and read the news as given in the Northern papers up to the 30th ult. Our siege guns and other cannon were used this morning and evening to a good advantage upon the enemy. Received a large mail for the regiment this evening; distributed it but got not a single letter for myself. Was full

⁴⁶ A weekly published in Philadelphia by John W. Forney. It was later known as *Forney’s Weekly Press*.

⁴⁷ This probably refers to the eight Confederates with 200,000 percussion caps who were arrested while attempting to get through the Union lines on May 25, 1863; see *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXIV, pt. I:39.

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of work to-day. Weather very warm. Indications of rain; it did rain a little.

Wednesday, [June] 3[d]—While carrying documents from Division Head Quarters I met Billy Borring⁴⁸ who was in search of me. He had come out on purpose from the Hospital to bring me a loving letter from sister Sarah. It made my poor heart leap with joy. . . .

Besides the letter there was around it material for chevrons. Billy gave me words of cheer from the poor wounded boys, and presented me with a couple nice lemons and a pocket handkerchief. Last evening our artillery was used ten minutes and then after an intermission of 20 minutes they were again used for twenty minutes. From deserters who came in during the night we learn that after the ten minutes the enemy supposed the firing was over and they acted accordingly, so during the second firing we killed and wounded a great many of them. The enemy having stationed heavy guns within a new fort he opened fire upon us this afternoon. Our guns replied with vigor and soon silenced the enemy's, meantime there was the most brisk musketry firing on both sides that we have had in this part of the line since the day of the charge. Am full of business to-day. Had an excellent dinner and had to eat it all alone. It might be weakness to acknowledge that while eating I wished that I had some fair one for company that she might know that the soldier is sometimes blessed with nicities. Weather very warm. Some indications of rain. Received a parting address from Gen. Benton who is going away on "sick leave." His command like it very much.

Our Lieut.-Col. having resigned, he, in a note to Col. Lippincott says "And Now, God bless you, and the brave men of the 33rd. Give my kind regards and parting regrets to all

⁴⁸ Probably William H. Boring, Co. D., Thirteenth Ill. Inf., of Greene County, Ill.

my brother officers and all my fellow-soldiers, the gallant boys of the 33d."

Thursday, [June] 4th—Made out another list of our wounded and killed since we entered the State. It is to accompany Col. Lippincott's official report which he made out to-day giving a history of the 33d from the time we left Miliken's Bend till after the charge on the 22nd ult. Col. Lippincott has promised me a recommendation for an officer in a negro regiment—a position which I shall not refuse.⁴⁹ Weather very warm. Received the Memphis paper of the 2nd inst.

Friday, [June] 5th—Our regiment went back to the rear to-day to wash and draw clothing. 'Twas a great relief to get back where we could once more breathe pure air, lay on the green grass in the shade without bullets passing over us or dropping among us. We again took our position in line at six o'clock P. M. Weather very warm. This army received reinforcements to-day. It is reported that Hunter is at New Orleans and is either coming up to reinforce us or Banks.⁵⁰ We are tunnelling so as to blow up the enemy's forts. A rumor is afloat that McPherson's corps having a good footing is to make another charge ere long.

Saturday, [June] 6th—Had a good night's rest though it was very warm. Yesterday the Thermometer stood 100° Fah. in the shade in a hollow, and I believe it was 5° hotter to-day than it was yesterday. This has been the hottest day this season. Mailed two papers one to A. R. Reynolds and one to brother Roswell. Was recommended by Col. Lippincott for a line officer in a negro regiment. Wrote a letter to Alex. Van Winkle about this recommendation. As I have always been the black man's friend I believe I can be of more service to my country and to the cause of human freedom by being

⁴⁹ He received a captaincy dated September 21, 1863.

⁵⁰ Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks was investing Port Hudson, La. at this time.

at the head of a body of black men than I can to sojourn where I am. I frankly acknowledge that I am and always have been a strong advocate of arming the negroes. From the very outset of the rebellion and especially after it had acquired such huge proportions I was decidedly in favor of making the war one of freedom and thus wipe from this continent the stain of slavery. I firmly believe that an overruling Providence from the very beginning intended that this war should be the means of putting an end to dealing in human chattle and I have earnestly and often prayed to Him that it might be so, and now cursed be the man who takes a step to frustrate the design of Providence. The believer in human slavery is an enemy to Freedom and Freedom's enemy is *my* enemy and he shall ever be treated as such. The day I started from home to join the army I told a distinguished lady (Mrs. Thuston of Waukegan) that I was going to war not only to put down rebellion but to make ours a free Nation. May God bless us, and help us to put down treason & establish Freedom.

Wrote a letter to Sarah, and conversed with Capt. J. Butler who was a private in our regiment but now in a negro regiment. The latter gives me encouragement and he is persuaded that the negro soldier will bring no shame upon our country. Read a considerable. Feel excellently well.

Sunday, [June] 7th—Received mail and distributed it I getting none. Have St. Louis papers of the 3d inst. Details are very heavy. Are crowded with business at these Head Quarters: a good many orders are arriving and I have to publish many of them to each company in the regiment. Numerous reports have to be copied, others to be made out and still others to get from the companies. Made seven different details to-day, thereby causing, per order, about 200 men from our regiment to go on fatigue or guard. Read some in the latest papers. The cannonading yesterday and to-day

was light, only an occasional gun being fired: Musketry is used after the old style, quite freely. Believe the enemy is unusually inactive. Our undermining the enemy's works is progressing slowly, and our position is being made stronger both in the front and rear. Are gradually pushing our advanced position closer to the enemy. There is a rumor of a fight with Johnston in our rear near the Yazoo, and a rumor that our negro soldiers at Milliken's Bend had repulsed twice their number who under Price had attacked them.⁵¹ Weather very warm and oppressive.

This is the holy Sabbath, but how little it has seemed so. There has been nothing unless it was the unusual inactivity of the enemy as well as our cannon, that has occurred to remind one of the Sabbath. And now this writing must be laid aside for I must, as I love to, look in the Bible, not my own as it was taken from me.

Monday, [June] 8th—The report of success of the colored troops at Millikens Bend is confirmed. Can hear of nothing new along our lines. The siege guns which are in our rear did not fire yesterday nor to-day. Our regiment had on duty during the day five whole companies besides 84 men and officers. Made nine details. Commenced a letter to A. R. Reynolds but on account of business could not finish it. Acting Adj. Wilson and I are now regimental postmasters. Took in 54 letters. Weather clear and hot.

Tuesday, [June] 9th—Finished the letter to A. R. Reynolds. Deserters continue to come from the enemy. A report is afloat that there has been a fight in our rear. On our right there was brisk firing last night between the pickets. In some places along our line we have advance rifle pits within thirty yards of the enemy's works. Held a conversation

⁵¹ Milliken's Bend was attacked on June 6, 1863; the negro troops at first retreated, but upon learning that death was the fate for those of their number who were captured, "they rallied with great fury and routed the enemy." *Ibid.*, 95.

with Major Potter about colored troops and taking command of them. Had I known what he told me I would have not sent forward my recommendation when I did but waited patiently till we could get this place when the Major intended to do *something* for me. Flying clouds but very warm. Took in 82 letters. Have to make all of the regular reports now, and yet the balls fly over us.

Wednesday, [June] 10th—Commenced to rain very early this morning and, with intermissions, continued all day, this evening a heavy shower visiting us. 'Twas a grateful storm—a blessing to us soldiers though many of us got wet. Talking with an intelligent negro to-day about enlisting he said "Now, Mr. Wilcox, since this affair," (we had just been speaking of the bravery that the black troops exhibited in the late fight at Milliken's Bend, La.,) "*I feel that I'm as much of a man as any one.*" The fight had made him our compeer and he felt exceedingly joyful over it. He asked for the privilege of going in my company when I get it up. Of course he shall have the chance and as he has faithfully served Col. Lippincott as servant for nearly a year I shall give him a good chance if I have the opportunity. Are still crowding our defences up to the enemy's works.

Thursday, [June] 11th—Our regiment was going back to the rear to-day for the purpose of washing but on account of the heavy rain it did not. The sharpshooters commenced firing unusually early this morning as the enemy showed themselves quite freely. Went to Warrenton (and returned) on horseback, traveling about 24 miles. The object of my visit was to see Adj. A. Van Winkle about getting up a negro regiment. He has already collected together about 400 and has the assurances of being Colonel of the regiment. Think I shall not go with him now as I could not consistent with honor and then I can do as well if not better by waiting till we get into Vicksburg. Saw my dear friend and old Normal

schoolmate, Ed. Willis. Earth-works have been throwed up around what used to be Warrenton and what is left of Warrenton. It will be remembered that our gunboat men burnt the place this spring. The country between here (the railroad) and Warrenton is very rough though there are many fine plantations along the road. About four miles this side of that place I saw the prettiest garden I ever saw. 'Twere needless to endeavor to describe it. Cloudy in the morning, clear the remainder of the day.

Friday, [June] 12th—Quartermaster Wright got me another horse yesterday, my old *Maj* that is supposed to be stolen not having been found. A good many of our men are getting sick; indeed, a good many are already sick. Received a general order about sanitary arrangements in camp. Trouble with our cook and I dismiss him and go into a new mess. Weather clear and warm. Nothing specially new along our lines. The enemy opened a battery upon our cannon but it did not fire long as all of our cannon that were within range opened upon it and silenced it. The siege guns in our rear resumed firing. They fire over us without doing us damage. Am out of humor for some reason. Received a letter from Mr. J. Dickinson, and Memphis papers of the 9th inst.

Saturday, [June] 13th—The regiment moved at half past five a. m. to the rear (about two miles) for the purpose of washing. Had to remain till 7 A. M. to get together a detail which was left, and failed to get breakfast on account of this; however, the breakfast was made good by the many nice plums and blackberries I ate before noon. Took a ride with Dick Faulks⁵² up our line into McPherson's Corps. Find that my new horse is a very easy riding horse. Enjoyed a splendid dinner and supper; each was made of ham and corned-beef (both cold) with two kinds of catsup to use on them, raised wheat bread with butter, plum and blackberry sauce

⁵² Richard B. Fuls, Q. M. Sergt., of Beardstown, Ill.

with milk to put on the latter, blackberry pie, and coffee with milk and sugar. The firing on our side has been more rapid to-day. Logan's Division has made a large breach in a fort and it now by constant labor keeps the enemy from repairing the damage. All of our 20, 24 and 30 pounders are ordered to fire 8 shots per battery per hour; the other batteries are to fire 5 shots per hour. A shell from one of the siege guns just to our rear wounded three men belonging to the 8th Ind. Inf., to-day—one of them dangerously. Every time those guns fire I shudder for fear of the sad results, and I do not wonder at myself as two of them fire directly over our regimental headquarters. Weather clear and warm. Wrote a note and mailed it with diary to father. We cannot hear that any of our Brigade has been heard from by letter since we came into this State. How many doubts and hopes must fill the minds of our dear friends and relatives! May God bless and comfort them! Thou Angel of Love, wing thy flight to the abodes of our loved ones and whisper to them our safety. Take thou none but glad tidings, and though thou shouldst breathe of the death or sufferings of one may the grieved one rest in the assurance that death and suffering is noble and honorable when it is the consequence of battling for Humanity and God.

Sunday, [June] 14th—At an early hour I arose this morning but only to hear the firing of our sharpshooters. After an hour or two of quite brisk action there was a quietus, a strong indication that the Sabbath would be properly observed but ere the long day wore away the combatants seemed to forget that it was a day for rest and worship, the cannons on both sides thundering away seemingly in defiance of God or man. Am inclined to believe that we have done extra work to-day. Though a mail was received last evening and one this evening, I got no letters; consequently am lonely, indeed, sad. Acting Adjutant Wilson and I are not get-

ting along any too pleasantly together as too much dogmatism is exhibited. For some reason I believe I am considered not trustworthy—too bare-faced evidences lead me, I think, to such a conclusion. A dog that feels that his master has no confidence in him is always a *sneak*. Our Army has had a fight with Johnston we taking 2000 or 4000 prisoners. Bah!

Osterhaus attacked the enemy in the rear while other troops attacked him in front. Our victory was complete.⁵³ Weather clear—not oppressively warm. Am now boarding with Lieut. Lyon of Comp. I. Live well. Read in Bible, Continental Monthly, and Xerxes' Life by Abbott. Passed a pleasant hour with the Sergt. Major of the 18th Ind. He intends to go into a negro regiment.

Our boys seem not to have enough of actual warfare though they can go to the rifle pits at any time and fire till their hearts content. This is proved by the fact that they are, nearly every evening, firing imitative shells into the air. These shells are made of the surplus fuse that our batteries have.

Monday, [June] 15th—Sallying forth at an early hour I strolled adown the valley and after taking an enlivening wash, I looked about me, threw back my shoulders exhaled the impure air in my lungs, drew in a long breath and felt that I had been blessed by the freshness of the morn. And then there was policing around our tent! This took me an hour, and as I sit here and write, throwing an eye about me to catch a thought, I feel well repaid for the labor by seeing that things are snug and neat about me. This leads me to remark of Col. Lippincott that he never lifts his hand to pick up things about his tent but makes a slave of his orderly—a very fine little fellow, by-the-by—by having him make his bed, bring every drop of his water, and worst of all, bring all his whiskey. And this Colonel Lippincott *Colonel* of the

⁵³ A false report.

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Normal Regiment? Just so. The veritable man who drinks whiskey but can hardly get drunk—the very man who gambles with cards and bets on other games, and who curses and swears when anything goes wrong with him and especially when his executives don't bring up the complicated work which he never lifts a finger to aid in. And though this be true he is humane, for he will not see any one abuse a man in the regiment, and each man must have justice done him. A brave man and yet so depraved! A kind man and yet sometimes so unreasonable and cruel! Though he makes a beast of himself he usually treats his men as though he considered them as they are honest and intelligent beings. Such a man leads the Normal regiment. For fear history will fail to tell the true tale I have noted the above, and have done it without hatred. The noble Major Potter, exactly on the opposite with respect to bad qualities, may he soon be the leader of the 33d!

Wrote a letter to Kitty Morey, one to brother Turner, and a note to Mother; also wrote to Alex. Van Winkle about his regiment. Read in the *Continental Monthly*. Weather somewhat cloudy, threatening rain just at night. The enemy used his cannon quite freely this afternoon, though not damaging us. He gets from fifty to five hundred shot from our cannon for every one he fires at us. He has this evening and for the past few evenings been throwing shell into our line, after the fashion of our mortars in their line. Our land mortars are at work.

[Friday, July 3d]⁵⁴—We saw two of his men hit by these pieces and carried away by their comrades. There has been a death-like silence since twilight—not a gun has been heard and we hear no sound of working parties trowing dirt and picking in earth. It is now ten o'clock P. M. and all is as quiet along the lines as though two friendly armies con-

⁵⁴ The diary from June 16 to July 3, 1863 is lost.

fronted each other. I judge that the enemy is anxious to avoid the fire-works which we had intended to exhibit on the morrow for our amusement and his displeasure. Cool and pleasant this evening; a warm day though, the sun shining fiercely. Clouds arose just at twilight and threatened rain.

Saturday, July 4th—This day in American history is only second to the one of which to-day is the eighty seventh anniversary. The fate of the American Republic has positively been decided this day. When the events which have transpired at this place this day shall have reached the North the rejoicing there cannot be described, but only imagined. How the loyal heart will throb with joy! The heart of the longing mother, of the affectionate sister and of the truly beloved wife—how they will bound with delight! The heart bereaved by the loss of a husband, brother or son in the battles for Vicksburg, will forget its sorrow. All will sing “Hallelujah!” “The heroic city has fallen!” “Vicksburg *is* ours!

The enemy surrendered this morning at ten o'clock though a white flag was raised upon each fort at a quarter before nine. While Generals Pemberton and Grant were having their interview last evening it was agreed that, according to an order from Gen. Grant, “Should the enemy at ten o'clock this morning display white flags on his works it will signify that he has accepted our terms of surrender” which are unconditional.

There was no firing during the night nor this morning save our cannon firing the national salute. A little after ten A. M. the enemy formed his regiments and then each came outside his works in front of where it had been in position since the siege began, and stacked its arms and flags. Following this our Provost Marshall General went into Town with guards. Though we had a chain guard all along our advance entrenchments to keep our men from going into the city and to keep

the enemy's from coming out there were a host of the former in Vicksburg by 3 P. M. and by 6 P. M. there were a host of the latter within our lines getting hard bread. The rebels were nearly starved. Some of them (convalescents) had been obliged to eat mule meat.

Just before dark I went into Town. It is a rough looking place, and rightly called "The Hill City." The citizens who had been living in caves during the siege were moving into their houses. Rebel officers and Union officers were riding together through the streets, and in some instances both parties were so drunk they could hardly sit on their horses. Women with tearful eyes and with an air of haughty indignity were hurrying to and fro. Squads of rebel and Union soldiers were standing at every turn or by-place talking of experiences during the siege and in the battles for Vicksburg.

There is something about the surrender which leads me to believe that Gen. Pemberton has made it a point to have the North somewhat compensated for the expense of taking Vicksburg, and yet at the same time he, by holding out so long, deserves well at the hands of the South. Going about the City I find that with our hosts of prisoners we get more small arms than prisoners, a large number of cannon of all kinds and vast quantities of ammunition both for artillery and infantry, besides eight or ten railroad engines and a large number of cars and an arsenal with all its machinery. There is also a great deal of camp and garrison equipage. Now it is very strange indeed that none of these things were destroyed. What can it mean unless it be that Gen. Pemberton desired to favor the North, desired to compensate, as far as possible, this army of Grant's for its hard labors? It may be, which is very probable, that none of the things mentioned were destroyed because Gen. Pemberton was inclined to the opinion that if he did not destroy them Gen. Grant would deal with him with more clemency. This latter opinion or

rather position is plausible as it is a fact that the enemy surrendered unconditionally and then after the surrender Gen. Grant gave him (I believe) all that he asked when he came in yesterday and offered to surrender on terms.

From the best information I can get I understand that the officers and men are all to be paroled, and that our Provost Marshall General and his subordinate Provost Marshalls are now doing this work. The prisoners are to be escorted to the rear they being allowed 40 wagons to carry out their private property.

This evening our boys had fire-works, they having found Roman candles, rockets, whirl-a-gigs, &c, &c, in the city. These works bring us to the remembrance of the manner we used to spend the Fourth when at home.

[Saturday, July 4th]—Are now under marching orders, with ten days rations on hand. Are to start early on the morrow in pursuit of Joe Johnston. All of the army but one or two Divisions which are to garrison Vicksburg are to move in three colums from here and concentrate at Clinton where it is possible that Johnston will give us fight.

Sunday, [July] 5th—Had orders to march at four this morning but did not start (mainly, I think, on account of Whiskey) till about seven, we thus being obliged to come ten miles under a broiling sun. Are camped this evening at Big Black river bridge, twelve miles, by rail, from Vicksburg. Several men were sun-struck on the march. Have a nice shady camp with excellent water near by. Gen. Osterhaus has made this place well nigh impregnable by fortyfying on the edge of the bluff on the west side of of the river. It seems to me that his position is much stronger than the rebels' was when we took the place. It not only commands the river at the Ferry but a large open space of country on the

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east side of the river. No wonder that Johnston was afraid to attack him.⁵⁵

Got into camp at about one P. M. After a rest in the shade and dinner, we all made good use of the stream of pellucid water which flows in the valley at our feet. This evening we feel well refreshed and everybody feels doubly satisfied as there is prospect of sojourning here for the morrow.

In coming from near Vicksburg we followed the railroad. Weather clear and hot. Am not very well in consequence of overloading my stomach. Blackberries are still in abundance. Peaches are getting ripe; within two weeks time they will be in abundance.

Monday, [July] 6th—This forenoon we have had in the strongest sense a soldier's sabbath; the beautiful green-sward we occupied under the "old beech," and huge oak trees was truly a God-send for the soldiers who were worn out by the 47 days siege. And then the morning's rest, undisturbed by military orders, was doubly refreshing as we received a large mail and most of us read words of love and warm affection from those whose hearts are with us. But, of course, "*I*" got *the best* letter; and I believe Charlie did get the very best one as it came from dear Sarah "whose heart doth not beat for self alone." Our quiet rest, for which we feel very grateful, was finally disturbed just at noon while dining under the shade of a large beech tree.

Came about five miles and are this evening bivouacked one mile west of Edwards Dépôt. Weather clear and hot till near night when a heavy black cloud threatend a hard rain but only brought wind and clouds of dust.

The 9th Army Corps under Gen. Parks forms the left column in this movement; the 15th corps (Sherman's) under

⁵⁵ The expected attack by Johnston on the rear of Grant's army did not materialize during the siege of Vicksburg. Sherman's position along the west bank of the Big Black River was too strongly held.

Gen. Steele the centre and the 13th (ours) under Ord⁵⁶ the right. Gen. Sherman commands the whole, Gen. Grant remaining at Vicksburg, or, as report says going to Washington.

Tuesday, [July] 7th—Reveille at four and marched at six A. M., coming about eight miles. Are this evening eight miles from Clinton. Probably we would have gone farther or not quite so far if we had not here run on to a couple regiments of rebel cavalry. Our advance took prisoners one Lieutenant and 7 privates who belonged to Johnson's Army. They report that Gen. John C. Breckenridge with his command is in this vicinity. Weather very warm. Was much affected by the heat. A number of the boys were sun-struck. Saw for the first time Gen. Ord. From what I can hear this General is not liked very well by his under officers—not near so well as Gen. McClelland was.

Wednesday, [July] 8th—There was a heavy rain last night. Lay by till 5 P. M. when we are to move with two days rations in our haversacks. Have the erysipelas inflammation quite bad though am not sick.

[Tuesday, July 14th]⁵⁷—Moved our headquarters this evening as they were situated in a direct line of fire of a strong rebel battery. The acting Adjutant of our regiment seems to get along rather unpleasantly with the remainder of these Head Quarters.

Wednesday, [July] 15th—Received a letter from dear sister Sarah, and one from——ah me! I cannot tell.

⁵⁶ Maj. Gen. O. C. Ord succeeded McClelland as commander of the Thirteenth Army Corps upon the latter's removal by Grant on June 18, 1863.

⁵⁷ The diary from July 9 to July 14, 1863 is lost. On July 10, the fourteenth division had arrived in the vicinity of Jackson; they were in good fighting condition despite "the excessive heat, dusty roads, and scarcity of water." By July 14, they were entrenched some 800 yards from the Confederate breastworks at Jackson. In a report on the Jackson campaign, Ira Moore, the captain of the Thirty-third Illinois, commented on Wilcox's good conduct, declaring "there is no better or braver soldier." *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXIV, pt. II:608-609, 613.

One of our men who was lately taken prisoner by the enemy escaped this afternoon. He says that 4000 rebel cavalry came on this side of Pearl river to operate in our rear while the enemy in front gave us trouble. We have sent out a cavalry and infantry force to meet that cavalry. Weather warm and clear. Visited the Hospital seeing our boys who were wounded on Monday. One or two of them will die though they are quite bright now. Our men worked hard on our breast-works. Our Brigade now has two lines of breast works besides the advanced trenches. The rear line of our works is so constructed that men behind them can fire with safety over the heads of the men in the works just in front. Thus it will be seen that we can repel most any attack that might be made upon us.

Our position is in a beautiful grove, most of the underbrush being cleared out. The shade is ample and consequently the sun does not trouble us. The lay of the land here is the reverse of what it was at and around Vicksburg. The ground being so level if we should have an open field fight here or charge upon the enemy's works (which is very improbable) there would be an awful slaughter. Sent Diary to sister Persis. The erysipelas I had I am rid of.

Thursday, [July] 16th—Wrote a letter to sister Sarah. Somewhat cloudy but warm. Our Head Quarters are now within a tent behind earthworks. Are very pleasantly situated. Yesterday as well as to-day I read in The Continental Monthly. Received intelligence that Gen. Meade has captured the most of Lee's Army and that Gen. Dix had taken Richmond, Va.⁵⁸ Oh that this could be so! Our regiment goes in the advance trenches to-night. Since we were last in advance the three regiment which have been out have only had one man wounded, none killed. Heavy firing on our left this afternoon.

⁵⁸ He probably has reference to Meade's victory at Gettysburg on July 2, 1863, in which numerous prisoners were taken.

Friday, [July] 17th—Our regiment went in the advance last evening just at dusk. During the whole of the night the enemy seemed to be driving cattle and moving teams and troops. All this was sufficient to make us believe the enemy had evacuated and we sent out feelers who finding no resistance went clear into the city of Jackson. These men from our regiment were the first from our Division within the enemy's works but stragglers and the advance of the 9th Army Corps were in the very first. Our whole regiment went in at about 9 a. m. and took a position on the enemy's works, where we remained, in main part, till evening when we returned to our encampment behind our own works. This place was resorted to because all of our things were there. During the day all of us had the privilege of going into town. The enemy's rear-guard set fire to the city during the night. This fire spread and consumed the whole of two or three squares. During the day some of our men—the *roughs*—after pillaging the place set fire to a great many buildings some of which were very fine. It is noteworthy that the rebel soldiers before leaving pillaged a good many houses. I never saw or heard of a city being so thoroughly sacked and burned as this place. It is indeed a great pity that so fine a city should be so destroyed. Went all over town, seeing the splendid State House, the ruins of the State Penitentiary which was destroyed by our troops when they first occupied the place last May. The city is about a mile from the river.

There were about 200 rebel soldiers who had secreted themselves in various place in town who gave themselves up when we occupied the place. They say that Johnston effective force is not more than 23000. Johnston took every thing with him but a lot of amunition. He made a masterly retreat and just in time to save himself and army for at the time he evacuated Maj. Gen. Herron was marching to Canton and forward to aid this force here in surrounding them. Of course we are in the dark about the destination of John-

ston but we believe he will endeavor to protect Mobile. During the week we lay before the place and when Johnston was retreating from Black river his loss in killed and wounded was about 1100; our loss was not so heavy.⁵⁹ The rebels are evidently discouraged; most of them have given up all hope of success. Their strength has been taxed to the utmost while ours has just fairly begun to make itself known and felt. Weather clear and warm.

CONCLUSION

For a few days after the surrender of Jackson, the Thirty-third Illinois was engaged in a systematic destruction of the railroads which converged in the ill-fated city. Several miles of track of the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad were torn up and the rails were misshaped on burning piles of ties. In the meantime the regiment was encamped to the south of Jackson on the Pearl River, near large peach and apple orchards. In the water of the river the men sought relief from the intense summer heat, and in the orchards they more than satisfied their craving for fresh fruit. But still more important duties were in store for the Thirty-third. On July 20, the regiment was ordered to return to Vicksburg, along with the Thirteenth Army Corps, antecedent to going down the river to strengthen the forces of Major General Banks in the department of the gulf. After remaining for nearly a month in the vicinity of Vicksburg, the regiment, on August 19, embarked for Carrollton,⁶⁰ Louisiana, and upon arriving, encamped near Lake Pontchartrain. The diary terminates with the entry for August 31, 1863. At that date the Thirty-third was still in camp near Lake Pontchartrain.

⁵⁹ Union losses in the siege of Jackson were 129 killed, 762 wounded and 231 captured or missing; Johnston estimated Confederate losses during the Jackson siege as 71 killed, 504 wounded and about 25 missing. *Ibid.*, pt. I:246; pt. II: 550.

⁶⁰ Formerly a post-village in Jefferson Parish, but now a part of the city of New Orleans.

During the two months in which the above movements occurred, Wilcox remained attached to the regimental headquarters in the capacity of sergeant major. His clerical duties were unusually heavy, for in addition to the work connected with his own office, he did that of the adjutant as well. Even so, he was able to find time to promote a scheme which, had it been successful, would have rewarded him with a captaincy. In conjunction with Lieutenant Colonel William Hunter and an undisclosed third person, he participated in the recruitment of what was to have been a veteran volunteer cavalry regiment among veterans whose enlistments were about to expire. The venture progressed nicely until the colonels in whose regiments the promoters were recruiting got wind of the scheme. Wilcox was summoned before the irate colonels; they bullied him and threatened him with court-martial if he persisted in further recruiting. His associates in the scheme were treated similarly. The venture was dropped but Wilcox soon found new hope in the prospect of a commission in one of the negro regiments which were being organized. His profound religious convictions and his humanitarian inclinations particularly qualified him for service among the freed blacks. In the diary he frequently spoke of the meritorious performance of negro troops, and when a commission in a colored regiment was offered to him he accepted without hesitation. Just what chain of events preceded this appointment is not known, beyond what is contained in his war record on file in the War Department. That record shows that he resigned his sergeant-majorship in the Thirty-third Illinois on September 20, 1863, to accept the captaincy of Company B, Ninety-second United States Colored Infantry for a period of three years.

HISTORICAL NOTE

ALTON OBSERVES LOVEJOY CENTENNIAL

The College Avenue Presbyterian Church of Alton, Illinois, founded in 1837, of which Elijah Parish Lovejoy was the first pastor, has just completed an extended observance of the centennial of that tragic event in Alton on November 7, 1837, which caused this church to be founded in the blood of the martyrs.

On that night, one hundred years ago, Elijah Parish Lovejoy laid down his life in defense of the cause of freedom—freedom to speak and write and print whatever he chose on the subject of slavery or any other subject. For a few short months he had been publishing the *Alton Observer*, during which time proslavery mobs had demolished three of his printing presses, and it was in defense of the fourth that he was killed. At the time of his death he was the outstanding abolitionist of the West, the pastor of the newly organized Upper Alton Presbyterian Church (now College Avenue), and Moderator of the newly organized Alton Presbytery.

On the evening of October 24, 1937, a group of young people of this church presented a Lovejoy Pageant, written and directed by Mrs. Frank N. Henderson. The pageant portrayed the dramatic episode of Lovejoy's death and the events leading to it. The epilogue showed Owen Lovejoy, Elijah's younger brother, pledging his life to the same cause.

On the afternoon of October 31 a memorial service was held out-of-doors at the beautiful Lovejoy Monument (recently renovated by the state of Illinois) in the Alton City Cemetery. Dr. C. E. Goddard, present pastor of the College

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Avenue Church, presided, and Dr. R. S. Douglas, historian, of Edwardsville, Illinois, spoke. The audience was a representative group from all parts of the city and vicinity.

On the evening of November 2, the brotherhood of the church presented a program of three speakers on the subject of freedom. Paul B. Cousley, present editor of the *Alton Daily Telegraph*, which was a contemporary of Lovejoy's *Observer*, spoke on "The Freedom of the Press;" Gilson Brown, Alton attorney and authority on Lovejoy, spoke on "Freedom of Speech;" and Paul Lamont Thompson, president of Shurtleff College, spoke on "Freedom of Religion."

On Sunday morning, November 7 (the exact date of Lovejoy's death), the College Avenue Church dedicated a beautiful out-of-doors memorial bulletin board with the following inscription in bronze letters:

COLLEGE AVE. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
FOUNDED 1837
FIRST MINISTER, ELIJAH PARISH LOVEJOY
MARTYR TO THE FAITH

After an appropriate Lovejoy sermon by the pastor, the audience adjourned to the outside where the memorial was unveiled, and John D. McAdams, business manager of the *Alton Daily Telegraph*, gave an address of dedication. It is pleasing to know that contributions toward the memorial had been received from scores of Alton people.

On the same Sunday morning other churches, notably the Upper Alton Baptist and the First Presbyterian, held Lovejoy memorial services. Paul B. Cousley spoke again at the Upper Alton Baptist Church.

Alton Presbytery assembled in the College Avenue Church at three o'clock Sunday afternoon, November 7, to honor the memory of their first Stated Clerk and Moderator at the time

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of his death. The present Moderator, the Rev. E. M. Moser of Witt, presided. The present Stated Clerk, the Rev. E. E. DeLong of Wood River, made an address on the early records of Presbytery. Gilson Brown, benevolence treasurer of Alton Presbytery and Elder and Trustee of Alton First Church, made the main address. The meeting was well attended and several were present from a distance.

A largely attended banquet was held by the College Avenue Church in their dining rooms on the night of November 17. Dr. C. E. Goddard, the present pastor, under whose leadership the Lovejoy program had been carried out, presided. Dr. G. W. Beiswanger of Monticello Seminary, spoke on "Lovejoy's Principles Challenged." Thus the observance of this significant centennial was brought to a definite close.

C. E. GODDARD

Alton, Illinois

HISTORICAL NEWS

During the fall of 1937 the Illinois Commission for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the creation of the Northwest Territory held several meetings and made plans for the state's participation in the observance of this historic event. The Commission ordered copies of a pictorial map prepared by the National Commission for every school child in Illinois from the seventh grade through high school and arranged for their distribution. Arrangements were made with the National Commission for the distribution of a specially prepared text book on the Ordinance of 1787 and the Northwest Territory to all Illinois teachers. Tentative arrangements for the showing of a pageant in sixty Illinois cities during the summer of 1938 have also been made.

In 1837 the General Assembly of Illinois selected Springfield as the future capital of the state. That same year Abraham Lincoln moved in from New Salem. The centennial of these events Springfield celebrated with three pageants, performed in the state armory during the latter part of October. The first pageant, performed three times, portrayed the life of Lincoln; the other two were entitled "Creating a Capital" and "The Spiritual Development of Springfield." All were the work of William Dodd Chenery.

On November 14, 1937, the *Edwardsville Intelligencer* celebrated a significant milestone by publishing a Seventy-fifth Anniversary Edition consisting of five large sections. The edition covers thoroughly the history of the newspaper and the past and present of Edwardsville and Madison County.

Being one of the oldest cities in the state, Edwardsville has naturally played an important part in the development of Illinois. The significance of that part is indicated by the fact that eight governors have lived there at one time or another. The special edition of the *Intelligencer*, carefully prepared and well illustrated, will be an important and permanent record.

The month of October, 1937, saw the publication of Volume V of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. This volume, which is devoted to the Territory of Mississippi, 1797-1809, contains many important documents, but relatively little of interest to Illinois. It is welcome evidence, however, of the continued prosecution of the series, which, when completed, will comprise thirty-two volumes, and will constitute one of the basic sources of American history. *The Territorial Papers* are published by the Department of State under the editorship of Dr. Clarence E. Carter of the Division of Research and Publication. Copies may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., at \$1.50 per volume.

One publication of the year 1937 which is not likely to be as well known as it deserves is a beautiful, privately printed little book by Neil M. Clark entitled *John Deere*. Here is the story of the Vermont blacksmith who settled at Grand Detour in 1836 and there invented the steel plow; who later removed to Moline and established what is now the great firm of Deere & Company. Many stirring events have taken place on Illinois soil, but it is doubtful if any of them have had consequences more far-reaching than this apparently simple invention. The incidents of agricultural and economic history are not dramatic, and therefore they are too often neglected, but without them the historical literature of Illinois would be seriously incomplete.

Oliver Pollock: The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot,¹ is the title of the latest book by Dr. James A. James, President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

That Pollock should have been forgotten while many others whose contributions to the cause of American independence were much less important should have been remembered is one of the major injustices of American history. Altogether he advanced approximately \$300,000 to the cause, an amount unequalled by any other person during the Revolution. His advances ruined him financially, and forced him to wait for long years in poverty until reimbursement was made. Not until after the beginning of the nineteenth century was Pollock fully repaid by a delinquent and dilatory nation.

That Pollock's services were not unappreciated during his lifetime, in spite of the failure of Virginia and the United States to come to his relief, is evident from the testimony of many of his contemporaries. Typical is the statement of William Heth, one of the commissioners appointed to adjust claims arising from the conquest of the Northwest, who testified as follows before the Court of Claims: "With me there is no sort of question but that the United States are more indebted for the Northwestern Territory to Oliver Pollock, than to any man now living, or who did live at the time of its conquest."

In this volume, Doctor James has not only rescued a patriot from oblivion; he has also demonstrated the decisive part which the West, and especially Illinois, played in the Revolution— a factor which historians of the War of Independence are all too likely to minimize or ignore.

On June 16, 1858, Abraham Lincoln began his campaign for election to the United States Senate by delivering his

¹Appleton-Century \$4.

famous "House Divided" speech before the Illinois State Republican Convention. At that time he was virtually unknown outside his own state. Two years later, lacking less than a month, he was nominated by his party for the presidency of the United States.

The story of this startling rise to national prominence, almost unprecedented, is the subject of a recent volume by William E. Baringer: *Lincoln's Rise to Power*.² In lively fashion Mr. Baringer traces the growth of Lincoln's reputation, and describes and evaluates the influences which turned that reputation to political account—the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the newspaper efforts at President-making, the widespread fear of Seward's "radicalism," the demands of political expediency, and finally, the astuteness of Lincoln's friends and supporters in the Chicago Convention. Although the author's emphasis is on narrative rather than analysis, the book provides material for some interesting and disquieting reflections about American political practices.

Mr. Baringer is a resident of Urbana, Illinois, a member of the Illinois State Historical Society and a contributor to its publications.

The second city guide to make its appearance under the auspices of the Federal Writers' Project is *Delavan, 1837-1937, A Chronicle of 100 Years*. Since Delavan celebrated its centennial in 1937, this publication was made a part of the observance of that occasion. The Delavan Guide suffers somewhat by comparison with its predecessor, the *Galena Guide*, but it is a compact and useful summary of Delavan's history and present-day importance.

In the summers of 1936 and 1937, G. E. Johnson and Robert D. Ochs, working under the auspices of the National Park

² Little, Brown & Co., \$4.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Service, arranged and listed the historical source materials housed in the office of the Illinois and Michigan Canal Parkway at Lockport, Illinois. Their report, published in mimeograph under the title, *The Historical Source Material in the Illinois and Michigan Canal Office, Lockport, Illinois*, will be a very valuable tool to anyone planning research on this and related subjects. A copy of the report is available in the Illinois State Historical Library.

The Old Stonington Baptist Church signalized its centennial, which occurred in September, 1937, by the publication of a history of the church under the title, *Old Stonington Baptist Church*. Stonington, in Christian County, was settled by a colony of Baptists from North Stonington, Connecticut. Like all New Englanders, their first concern in their new home was the organization of a church, which took place on September 3, 1837. In the hundred years which have followed, 827 persons have had their names on its record as members.

CONTRIBUTORS

Milo M. Quaife is the author of *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835*, *The Kingdom of Saint James*, and many other studies in the history of the Middle West. He was formerly Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and is now Secretary-Editor of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. . . . Charles M. Thomas is an Instructor in History at Ohio State University. . . . Edgar L. Erickson is an Associate in the Department of History at the University of Illinois.

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